

**AN INTRODUCTION
TO SOCIAL WORK**

Nihil Obstat

ARTHUR J. SCANLAN, S.T.D.

Censor Librorum

Imprimatur

✠ PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES

Archbishop, New York

NEW YORK

April 26, 1928

The Century Catholic College Texts

John A. Lapp, Editor

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WORK

BY

JOHN O'GRADY, PH.D.

Editor, Catholic Charities Review

*Professor of Sociology at Catholic University of America
and Trinity College, Washington, D. C.*

Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities

301
O'GR



THE CENTURY CO.

NEW YORK

LONDON

Copyright, 1928, by
THE CENTURY Co.

268

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

PREFACE

This volume is essentially a study of the development of social work methodology. It deals with the different fields in which social-work methods and technique have been found most helpful. Many persons labor under the impression that social work deals exclusively with individuals and families in need of special assistance. In the following pages the writer has endeavored to show that it has a much wider horizon.

In describing the various departments to which social work has made important contributions, an effort has been made to reckon with the college student who is taking his first course in the subject. In his teaching experience the writer has found it necessary to use a great many sources in giving his students a complete picture of this increasingly important field. He has long been convinced of the need of a text which would endeavor to give a fairly complete review of the field. This need is felt particularly in Catholic colleges and seminaries.

The progress of social work will depend in large measure on the kind of understanding that exists between the different agencies that aim to improve the physical, mental and spiritual condition of the individual. It is important for the physician to appreciate the various factors that retard the health progress of the individual. It is also important for the educator and the clergyman to understand the factors that retard the individual's spiritual progress. This book is an appeal to closely related fields to gain a better appreciation of what social work has been trying to do for them. It is also an appeal to social workers to recognize the ever-widening horizon of their own work. It is coming to be recognized that social work has a proper place in every activity dealing with human

beings. While social work has greatly enriched other agencies from the storehouse of its experience, it in turn has been enriched by them.

The service of our fellow-beings is a fundamental obligation of Christian charity. Charity and social work are therefore as extensive as man's relations. Every man is given countless opportunities of doing works of service for his neighbor. There are certain types of service which the individual under our modern complex civilization must delegate to the organization with a full-time personnel. But a very large share of his charitable obligations the individual must discharge directly and personally. Even in the work of organized social agencies there is a large place for the volunteer. We cannot conceive of social work apart from the individual who gives a part of his time as a free offering in the service of his fellow-beings. In fact, one of the great functions of organized social agencies is to get an increasing number of volunteers to participate actively in their work. It is our hope that this little volume may be a source of inspiration and encouragement to the thousands of volunteers who have been making a free-will offering on the altar of Christian charity. The author has never lost sight of the volunteer from the beginning to the end.

JOHN O'GRADY.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This is the first attempt, so far as the editor of this series is informed, on the part of a Catholic writer to give a comprehensive view of the whole field of social work and to integrate the Charities of the Catholic Church in their proper relationship to the public and non-sectarian agencies of welfare. It has the merit of completeness which is so essential to the understanding of any portion of the field of social work. The field of effort for human amelioration is so vast that to look at a part of it without its relationships to the whole is more likely to distort than to bring understanding. Measured in dollars and cents, the social welfare program of the United States is a three billion dollar business. Measured in human effort, it involves the service of hundreds of thousands of full-time workers and literally millions of volunteers who give some substantial service. Obviously it is important that a better view be given of the interrelationships of all activities which we carry on under the title of social work.

Father O'Grady in this *Introduction to the Study of Social Work* has described the motives which inspire charity and has faithfully presented the facts of social organization for the prevention of social breakdown and the rehabilitation and care of persons in distress. It is not narrowed to the field of Catholic Charities, vast as that field is. It is designed as well for the public and non-sectarian social worker who ought to know the motives and the means by which the Charities of the Church supplement and uphold them and also for the Catholic social workers who must see the whole if their work is to be reasonably effective. Those who seek knowledge of the public and non-sectarian agencies will find them treated here with the fullest sympathy and understanding. Those who

want to know the inspirations and the widespread efforts of the Charities of the Catholic Church will find them treated here by one whose close contacts with the training of leaders of social work and with the actual field of practical welfare activities give to him a recognized place of authority.

JOHN A. LAPP.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	OBJECTIVES IN SOCIAL WORK	3
II	MODERN FAMILY LIFE	25
III	SOCIAL CASE WORK AND THE FAMILY	49
IV	SOCIAL CASE WORK AND THE FAMILY— <i>Con- tinued</i>	63
V	THE DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILD . . .	86
VI	FOSTER CARE OF CHILDREN	111
VII	THE JUVENILE COURT—ITS DEVELOPMENT AND METHODS	136
VIII	FACTORS IN THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF JUVE- NILE OFFENDERS	154
IX	THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF CRIME	170
X	BETTER HEALTH FACILITIES	195
XI	ECONOMIC DISABILITIES OF THE WAGE-EARNER .	217
XII	ECONOMIC DISABILITIES OF THE WAGE-EARNER— <i>Continued</i>	237
XIII	THE POOR AND THE LAW	263
XIV	THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK	281
XV	THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK— <i>Continued</i> .	295
XVI	THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL AGENCY	317

XVII	PUBLIC WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES . . .	334
XVIII	PUBLIC WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES— <i>Con-</i> <i>tinued</i>	351
XIX	LEISURE TIME	362
XX	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION	372
	INDEX	389

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WORK

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WORK

CHAPTER I

OBJECTIVES IN SOCIAL WORK

The Basis of Charity.—Both reason and Christian teaching proclaim that man's first duty is toward his God. From the study of his own nature, man is forced to acknowledge his dependence on the Supreme Being. The author of all that is beautiful in life must be infinitely beautiful and perfect and, therefore, worthy of the highest devotion and love. The love of God, which naturally grows out of man's nature and his relationships, Christ made the first important corner-stone of His teaching. To the doctor of the law who asked Him what was the greatest commandment in the law, He answered, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and first commandment."¹

From the study of his relations to God, man might have learned the nature of his relations to his fellow-beings. He might have known that all men have their end and their origin in the same God. He might have seen in his fellow-men the likeness and the handiwork of God. This teaching of human reason that had been dimmed by pagan philosophy and selfishness Christ made the second important corner-stone of His teaching. After announcing the greatest and the first commandment to the doctor of the law, Our Lord went on to

¹ *St. Matt.* XXII. 37-38.

say: "And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets."²

In the Christian plan of life, the two commandments of the love of God and the love of neighbor are inseparably bound up. "If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother, whom he seeth, how can he love God, whom he seeth not? And this commandment we have from God, that he, who loveth God, love also his brother."³

All through His life Christ held up His own love for the human race as a model of brotherly charity. "This is my commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you."⁴ "And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us."⁵

According to Christ's teaching, charity emanates from God Himself. It makes God the great nexus in all human relations. In the light of Christian teaching we see in every man the image and likeness of God. We love our fellow-beings not because of their human qualities but because we see in them the image of the divine. As the bond of brotherhood between all the children of the Great Common Father, Christian charity transcends all human attributes of race, nationality and economic or cultural status. "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Jesus Christ."⁶ The charity of Christ is, therefore, the great leveler of all human inequalities. It inspires those in more favored status to work for those less fortunately situated. In fact, the more marked the degree of human inequality, the greater the intensity of Christian charity. The worker who is inspired by Christian ideals reaches his greatest heights in the service of the most

² *St. Matt.* XXII. 39-40.

³ *St. John.* IV. 20-21.

⁴ *St. John.* XV. 12-17.

⁵ *Eph.* V. 1-2.

⁶ *Gal.* III. 28.

abject poverty and suffering. Father Damien giving his life to the lepers is one of the finest examples of Christian charity. The same ideals that inspired Father Damien have brought countless others to lay their all at the feet of Christ in the service of the poor.

Charity and Human Inequalities.—While all men are fundamentally equal before God in that they are endowed with immortal souls made after His image and likeness, and are created for the same eternal destiny, we still find very great differences in their natural endowments and in their use of these endowments. All men do not have the same mental capacity or the same physical strength. Differences in human endowments are further emphasized by inequalities of opportunity. Because of their unequal gifts, unequal use of gifts, and unequal opportunities, some men are very successful; others are only moderately so, while others do not secure the very basic essentials of normal life.

Human inequalities have always appeared in man's social life. The degree to which they have appeared has depended on the character of different civilizations. In a static civilization that was governed by custom and tradition and in which family and tribal attachments were deeply rooted, inequalities were not so marked as in a civilization in which the individual is left largely to himself in the battle with powerful economic and social forces.

Stewardship of Wealth.—The Christian doctrine of the stewardship of wealth, of knowledge, and of talents is one of the great means of mitigating the inequalities of life. Men are not given a superabundance of nature's goods for their own benefit alone. They are stewards of the gifts with which they have been blessed. In the words of Pope Leo XIII: "Whoever has received from divine bounty a large share of temporal blessings, whether they be external and corporeal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature and at the same time that he may employ them as the steward of God's

providence for the benefit of others. 'He that hath talent,' says St. Gregory, the Great, 'let him see that he hide it not; he that hath abundance, let him quicken himself to mercy and generosity; he that hath art and skill, let him do his best to share the use and utility thereof with his neighbor.'⁷ No man is bound to give to others to the extent of sacrificing the reasonable needs of himself and his family. But after he has satisfied his own reasonable needs and the needs of those dependent upon him, he is in duty bound to give part of his surplus to the poor. Pope Leo XIII goes on to say, "But when what necessity demands has been supplied and one's standing fairly taken thought for, it becomes a duty to give to the indigent what remains over."⁸

Charity and Justice.—In dealing with the virtue of charity, it is necessary to keep in mind always its relation to justice. Charity includes our obligations to others as children of the same God. It is the highest of all the virtues because it associates man most closely with his fountainhead and gives him the nearest foretaste of the supreme end of his life. Justice, while not of the same high character as charity, is more exact in its requirements. It imposes on man certain definite obligations toward his fellow-men. It requires him to give to his fellow-beings what really belongs to them, to respect their property rights and their good name. Justice imposes on the state the obligation of seeing to it that the rights of all citizens are properly protected. Justice, moreover, obliges each citizen to do his part so that the state may be made a more effective instrument for the common well-being.⁹

Much of the need for special works of charity is due to individual and social injustices. The strong use their strength in order to exact unfair bargains from the weak. Citizens are not sufficiently interested to see to it that the state extends its

⁷ *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1903), pp. 222-223.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁹ Ad. Tanqueray, *Synopsis Theologiæ Moralis et Pastoralis* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1907), III, 45.

protection to those who specially need it. Therefore charity must step in to meet the failures of justice. But charity must not confine itself merely to the immediate situations. It must not rest its hopes solely on remedial measures. The possibility of solving its problems by a more general application of the principles of justice must ever be kept in mind. Charity does not look for a Utopia. While it recognizes the possibility of improving social conditions by concerted action, it knows that human beings and the institutions they build will always be imperfect and that there will always be a certain number of persons who cannot be taken care of by the ordinary arrangements of society and for whom special care will, therefore, be necessary. Christ Himself has said: "The poor you have always with you."¹⁰ So long as we carry about with us imperfect bodies and minds, poverty and suffering will remain in some form, no matter how we perfect our social arrangements. It is a fundamental social principle that human needs expand more rapidly than the mechanisms we devise to satisfy them.

The Church and Charity.—The Church has always fostered works of charity. She is universally regarded as the pioneer in all charitable endeavors. The Church has constantly endeavored to keep before the world the lesson of charity learned at the feet of Christ. She has continually urged her children to give a reason for the faith that was in them by participating actively in deeds of charity. The methods and policies adopted at particular times were naturally determined by the knowledge and experience available to her. In this, as in other spheres, the Church has constantly added to her storehouse from the best that human science has had to offer. Her ideal was, and is, to associate the best in human science with the highest Christian ideals in the service of the poor.

Need of Organization at the Present Time.—In serving those human needs that cannot be satisfied through the normal processes of life, we have now come to depend on organiza-

¹⁰ *St. Matt.* XXVI. 11.

tion more than at any other time in history. As a rule, family ties are not so strong as in the past, and the old neighborhood, which used to be such an unfailing source of assistance, is practically gone. Lacking family and neighborhood resources, those in need of special assistance have to look more and more to organizations. Not only for persons in need, but also for those willing to serve, the organization has become increasingly essential. In our highly complicated society, it is not easy for the individual to select the objects of his beneficence, and those who continue to do so make some very serious mistakes. In the language of Dr. Kerby, the poor in our modern cities are "isolated." They are "anonymous." The individual who is anxious to assist them does not have any opportunity of coming into contact with them; he finds it difficult to understand their needs or to plan intelligently for them. If he is to render them lasting assistance, he must select an organization as his agent. This does not mean that the individual must dissociate himself entirely from works of service, and that he can discharge his whole duty by a financial contribution. The best organizations are endeavoring to enlist an increasing number of persons in active participation in their work. Organizations are trying to give intelligent direction to volunteer workers, and to get them to do the things for which they are best fitted.

Organized service for others does not include the whole field of Christian charity. The virtue of charity enters into all men's relations to their God and their fellow-beings. It finds expression in countless daily acts of kindness and patience and sympathetic interest in the difficulties and trials of our neighbors and friends. It is only the more or less complicated problems requiring special technique and skill that call for trained service and organized effort.

There is a distinct danger in our time that people may come to lean too heavily on organization. It is noted everywhere that as organizations become better known the volume of their work grows in undue proportion. Many problems that

heretofore were solved in the family council and the parish rectory have been poured into the offices of organizations. Every time an individual hears of a case of need, a person out of work, a child who is drifting, or a family that desires to find a school for the children, he immediately uses the influence his contribution has given him to add further to the organization's responsibilities. He does not wait to consider whether he himself, with a little thought, might not be able to render the needed service.

Organized Programs for Service.—The programs of organizations dealing with persons in need of special assistance include four important phases of activity. First, there are the remedial measures having as their purpose the care of certain immediate needs as they arise. Under this head is included work for families needing service or relief and for children in need of special care. Second, there are the activities which are concerned with the removal by legislation of some of the handicaps of the weaker classes. Here are included all movements for social legislation and the more effective administration of laws already on the statute books. Third, there is the extension of the work of the Church, the school, and the health and leisure-time agencies so that they may be able to deal more effectively with the religious, educational, health, and leisure-time needs not only of the less fortunately situated but of all the people. Fourth, organizations dealing with persons in need of special service assume as one of their fundamental responsibilities the task of interpreting to the people their obligations in charity and justice. They stand before the public as interpreters of the unfulfilled needs of a large section of the population, and they are constantly pointing to ways and means in which men and women can use their surplus talents, knowledge, and wealth in the service of their fellow-beings.

Social Work and Charity.—By reason of the extension of the work of organizations dealing with persons in need of special service, the question has arisen as to whether the word

charity is sufficiently exact to describe their scope and purposes. *Charity* in its broadest sense includes everything we do for our fellow-beings for the love of God and without any hope of material reward. In this broad sense, charity would include much of what is done in the name of justice and religion. *Charity* in its restricted sense, according to popular acceptance, has come to mean the work of organizations engaged in remedial service. Many organizations have felt that *charity* in its narrow or restricted sense was a term too specific to include their various objectives. They have been interested not only in satisfying immediate needs but also in the more general application of the principles of justice. They have been endeavoring to extend the work of existing organizations so that there might be less need for remedial charities. They have believed, moreover, that the word *charity* in its broad sense was too general to describe the things they had in mind. These organizations have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the term *social welfare* or *social work* would describe their activities much more accurately than *charity*.

Social work is not a virtue like charity nor is it a philosophy of life. It is a method and a technique. It represents an approach in dealing with human beings and human situations that is valuable not only with families and children needing special service, but also in the ordinary work of the Church, the school, the court, industry, and medicine. The visiting teacher in the school is a social worker; so is the probation officer in the court and the visitor from the welfare department of the factory; yet these can scarcely be called charity workers. They are really an essential part of established community agencies. The field of organized charity is really only one of the many fields in which social-work method and technique are applied. Of course, it may be stated that its work in other fields is intended largely to prevent people from becoming dependents on charity, but this does not tell the whole story. The Church, the school, medicine, and industry have learned that social work has something to con-

tribute to their work. There is no reason then why we should substitute social work for charity in ministering to persons in special need. Charity represents what we do for human beings in need. Social work is the technique employed in satisfying their needs. We surely should not substitute the means of doing a certain thing for the thing itself. We are naturally very jealous of the word *charity*. Consecrated, as it has been, by twenty centuries of Christian usage, and coming to us from Christ Himself, there is no substitute in human relations for the Christian doctrine of charity.

Changing Emphasis in Social Work.—As we review the development of social work in its various phases, we can see a gradual shifting of emphasis from remedial to preventive methods. Social work is no longer satisfied to deal merely with the economic needs of the poor. It traces economic needs through all their ramifications in the breakdown of individual character, in the limitations of our economic system, in the lack of adequate health facilities, in the failure of the school to prepare citizens for life, in religious indifference, and in the improper use of leisure time.

While social work is trying to restore the individual to his normal position in the community, it tries as far as possible to bring under control the factors that have made for his breakdown. From the preventive standpoint, therefore, social work is interested in higher wages and better working conditions for the wage-earner, in better health facilities for all the people, in more intelligent treatment of the delinquent, in a type of education that will prepare the rank and file more fully for their life's work, and in assisting the Church to bring the influence of religion to bear on a larger number of persons in the more satisfactory use of leisure time and the more effective coördination of all the forces of the community making for social betterment.

The development of American social work during the past few years indicates that it is not going to be satisfied even with a preventive program. The prevention of distress is, after

all, of a negative character. The work of visiting teachers in the schools and of child-guidance clinics is evidence of something more positive than the prevention of distress. It gives proof of real contributions to school programs. In the health field we find valuable contributions in programs of health education.

Outlook of American Social Work.—The hopeful and almost idealistic outlook that American social work has developed on problems of poverty and distress is, in all probability, a product of the special circumstances in which it found itself. A large part of the poverty of the United States has been of a transitional character. It grew out of the needs of a new people adjusting itself to new situations. It was not at all uncommon for those who had been the beneficiaries of special assistance in one generation to become the leaders in the next. Opportunities were to be had for all, if they only had the physical strength and education necessary to qualify. It is not surprising, then, that American social work has pinned its faith to such a large degree on better health and educational facilities for all the people.

Problems Discussed in This Book.—This volume deals with the various spheres in which social work methods and technique have been found most helpful, namely, those of the family, dependent and neglected childhood, juvenile delinquency, crime, health, the wage-earner, the poor and the law, the Church, the school, public welfare, leisure time, and community organization.

Family Welfare.—In dealing with the family needing service or relief, American social work passed through four important stages. At first, it had the purely economic viewpoint. The social agency was simply a relief-giving agency. It made a careful investigation of cases to find out whether they were worthy or unworthy of material relief. In the second stage, the agencies began to reckon with the health viewpoint. Health movements in the various cities, particularly the anti-tuberculosis movement, served to call at-

tention to health as a factor in family life. The increasing health resources of various communities also made it possible for agencies to give better health care to their families. In the third stage of its development, social work with needy families was saturated with the mental-hygiene viewpoint. Great stress was placed on mental disabilities. The psychiatrist and the psychologist were called upon in all cases in which there was any suspicion of mental disability. In the fourth stage of its development, social work with families began to reckon more and more with religion as a vital factor in family life. As it became evident that social work in the last analysis was a matter of character-building or rebuilding, the importance of religion was easily recognized. In order to change life habits, it is necessary to have a plan of life and proper motives for carrying out this plan, but it is clearly impossible to have a plan of life and proper motivation without religion. Many agencies dealing with families have not yet passed the health stage in their work. From reading their records, one is inclined to conclude that the only matters of importance in family life are health and income. The best agencies dealing with families in need of service or relief now reckon not only with economic, health, mental, and religious disabilities, but with many other factors as well, such as education, recreation, and housing. In fact, family agencies are reckoning more and more with all the elements that enter into the fabric of family life.

Child Welfare.—In the beginning, the various children's organizations and institutions were interested in rescuing the child from undesirable home and environmental conditions. Catholic institutions were interested in preserving the child's faith. If Catholic organizations were not prepared to take care of their own children, others were ready to provide for them under less favorable auspices. As the early methods of child-care were analyzed more carefully, it was found that many children who had been removed by institutions and organizations might easily have been cared for in their own homes.

The undesirability of removing children from their own homes for the reason of poverty alone came to be recognized universally. The leading children's agencies of the country represented in the White House Conference in 1909 went on record unanimously in favor of conserving the poor home through grants of material relief. Even in regard to the home presenting defects other than poverty, the attitude of the best children's agencies has changed very materially. They recognize that it is most difficult to care for a child without reckoning with his family. Some day the child will return to his family. If the conditions that originally brought about his removal still persist, they are bound to exercise a profound influence on the child's life and possibly undo all the work of the agency. The best children's agencies, therefore, believe that no child should be removed from a home presenting defects until everything possible has been done to remedy these defects. Interest in child-care to-day centers first in the conservation of the child's home, and secondly in careful social, mental, and physical study of the individual child with a view to providing the things necessary for his welfare. Many child-caring agencies are now making important contributions to the welfare of all children through their interest in school hygiene, in the visiting teacher movement, and in the development of more adequate recreational facilities.

The Delinquent Child.—Due very largely to the influence of social work, the attitude of society toward the delinquent child has changed very materially during the past twenty-five years. Society is no longer of the opinion that Johnny who has stolen fruit from the grocery store, or who has run away from home, should be locked up in the county or city jail, and haled before the judge and sentenced to a year at hard labor in the reformatory. It is the accepted view that this young product of the city streets should not be dealt with like an ordinary criminal. The state has, therefore, provided a special machinery for dealing with the youthful of-

fender. It has set up special courts in which Johnny will be dealt with kindly but none the less firmly, after the manner of the good father. The youthful offender is brought before a judge with special knowledge and experience in dealing with boy problems. The judge has at his disposal the services of a number of full-time officers who supply him with information in regard to the home life, mental and physical status, school work, and associations of the juvenile offender who appears before him. With this information on hand the judge is in a position to deal with him intelligently. He may decide to place him under the direction of one of the probation officers who will work with the parents, the Church, the school, and recreational agencies in an effort to change his habits of life. If this plan is not feasible or fails, the judge may decide to send the offender to a school where he will receive disciplinary training.

The court dealing with children is not satisfied with carefully planning for the individual cases that come to its attention. It studies the factors in delinquency with a view to their elimination or control. It endeavors to bring the home, the Church, the school, and the social agencies of the community, generally, to a keener appreciation of their responsibilities for juvenile delinquency.

Social Treatment of Crime.—In dealing with the adult offender, society has come to recognize that it must do more than merely mete out punishment. It has learned from long experience that severe punishment is a poor remedy for crime, that the offender must be dealt with as an individual, that he must be studied in the light of his own peculiar history. This study of the offender as an individual naturally leads to individualized treatment of crime. It was readily discovered that all offenders were not alike either in their background or in their outlook on life. It followed, therefore, that they should not all be dealt with in the same way. Some, it was found, might safely be placed on probation in their own homes. Those who were sent to prison, it was felt, should be eligible for

parole at the end of a certain period, provided their behavior had been satisfactory. Individualized treatment of the adult offender has meant more than the development of probation and parole. It has humanized our whole penal system. Solitary confinement and the long days of idleness in our prisons are now very largely a thing of the past. The state now recognizes that it has obligations toward the man in confinement, that it must prepare him to return to society as a useful citizen, able and willing to discharge his responsibilities. Prison officials have, therefore, endeavored to bring to bear on those under their charge all the forces that make for the development of good citizenship. They give the prisoners every opportunity for the study and practice of their religion. They endeavor to accustom the prisoners to useful work and to give them such vocational training as will prepare them for useful employment after they are discharged.

Social Work and Health.—All investigations have shown that ill health is the most important factor in 30 to 40 per cent of poverty cases. Those who are engaged in the work of serving the poor must be prepared to reckon with problems of ill health. They must be able to show the poor how to obtain medical care free of charge or at a small cost. One who has not had actual experience will be surprised to find how little the poor know about the medical resources of their own communities. Many times they will put off the securing of medical care until it is too late, because they do not have the money to pay for it, and do not know how to secure it free of charge. The worker among the poor recognizes that a great part of their ill health is preventable, that it can be prevented by more adequate health facilities, by a fuller use of existing facilities, both public and private, and by paying more attention to the laws of hygiene. Social service in recent years has made a splendid contribution to preventive medicine by placing more emphasis on remedying the physical defects of children of poor families and by inducing the older members

of the families to reckon with the first symptoms of ill health and not to postpone seeing the doctor until it is too late.

Medical care, of itself, whether it be preventive or corrective, will not attain its purposes without attention to the rules of hygienic living. The mother may take her children to the health center as often as she pleases, but if she does not give them proper food, properly prepared, if she gives them tea and coffee instead of milk, she cannot expect to keep them in very good health. The adult who is threatened with tuberculosis cannot make very much progress in building up his strength and vitality without a sufficient supply of wholesome and nourishing food. Medical care cannot, therefore, be separated from the other factors which make for a proper standard of life. There is very little use in talking to the normal family about higher food standards so long as the chief breadwinner is earning less than a living wage.

Income and Security.—Social work cannot fail to reckon with the problem of income and the closely allied problem of continuity of income. Multiply social service agencies and expand their work as you will, you can contribute very little toward the solution of the problems of poverty without a more equitable distribution of the products of industry. So long as the wealthy use their power to increase their wealth and to pay the workers less than living wages, poverty will continue to increase. Excluding the incapable and the handicapped, we find in every city in the United States large numbers of wage-earners whose earnings are not sufficient to maintain themselves and their families in health and decency. The situation is further complicated by the industrial hazards which are ever staring the wage-earner in the face and which threaten to cut off his income. At any time the worker is liable to be incapacitated by illness, and from the very first day of his illness his income is usually cut off. If he is engaged in a seasonal occupation, he will be out of work for certain periods every year. A slackening in the demand for a

particular product or a general industrial depression is liable to leave large numbers without positions. If we are permanently to improve the condition of the poor and to prevent large numbers of wage-earners from passing over into the ranks of the poor, we must strive earnestly for better wage standards and the protection of wage-earners against industrial hazards.

Justice and the Poor.—According to our state and federal constitutions all persons are equal before the law. Rich and poor alike have access to our courts for the enforcement of their rights. We find, however, that in the course of the development of our law, legal processes have become so complicated that it is very difficult in practice for the poor person to secure justice in our courts. The ordinary unskilled wage-earner who is not fortunate enough to belong to any organization may have a wage claim or a claim to compensation for an industrial injury. If the amount of the claim is small, he may find it difficult to secure a lawyer who will handle his case. If the lawyer decides to take the case on a contingent-fee basis, a large part of the amount eventually secured may have to be paid for legal services. In non-support cases, we find that poor mothers not infrequently find it difficult to enforce their just claims against their husbands. Social-service agencies have, therefore, found it necessary to devote special attention to supplying legal aid for the poor. There is no social-service agency which does not frequently find it necessary to secure counsel for its clients. In some cities, we find societies organized for the exclusive purpose of supplying legal aid to the needy. In other cities, legal aid has been made a part of the work of the ordinary social service agencies.

Social Work and the Church.—Service to others can never be separated from religion because, after all, one of its fundamental purposes is to create in those served a new attitude toward life and life's responsibilities. This means an understanding of the fundamental aims and purposes of life; it means a correct understanding of man's origin and destiny.

While man, with the unaided light of reason, can arrive at a true knowledge of God as the origin of life, he needs the revelation and the grace of Christ in order to bring him to that end for which he is destined. The poor, particularly, need the light and the graces of religion. They need them in order to bear the responsibilities of life which press so heavily upon them. The Church, therefore, following the example of Christ Himself, has shown a particular predilection for the poor. The ministry of the poor has always been an essential part of her mission. She has always had her organizations for the service of the poor in their own homes, and her institutions for the care of those who could not be provided for in their own homes. Until very recently the Church in this country depended on the ordinary mechanism of her parish organizations for the home care of the poor. Each diocese established certain types of institutions for the persons needing institutional care. There were institutions for children, hospitals, and institutions for the aged. Within the past fifteen years an increasing number of dioceses have found that they could not depend on the ordinary mechanism of the Church in her parish organizations for the home care of the poor. They found that it was necessary to develop a systematic diocese-wide organization for this purpose. Moreover, the different diocesan institutions were working as so many independent units. The work of the institutions as well as the work of caring for the poor in their own homes has been brought together in one systematic diocese-wide organization. The Church in the United States realizes that she is facing exceedingly complicated social problems. In order to meet these problems, she feels the need of systematic diocese-wide organizations. The systematic diocesan organizations bring together all the charitable organizations of the dioceses under the immediate direction of the respective bishops. With their trained personnel, the diocesan organizations can keep in close touch with the various problems in the dioceses. They can foster new developments when such are needed. They can bring the

work of existing organizations up to the best standards; they can prevent overlapping and duplication of effort between the various Catholic organizations and institutions and can speak authoritatively for the Church in various social movements of a general character.

The School As a Social Agency.—The use of social-work methods and technique in school work is one of the most encouraging developments in recent years. For a number of years the school has been in contact with families regarding the health of their children and the attendance officer has been dealing with them in the enforcement of compulsory attendance. The school is now beginning to take a broader viewpoint. It is endeavoring to reckon with all the factors, whether individual or environmental, that prevent the child's normal development. Many school systems employ persons who combine the training of the teacher and the social worker to deal with children presenting special behavior problems. The school is in a splendid position to deal effectively with the first symptoms of wrong-doing in the child. Many times the school discovers faulty character traits in the child long before the parents do, and if it is equipped with a visiting-teacher service it can study and plan effectively for those children who present special conduct problems. The visiting teacher can acquaint herself with the child's school record, with his home and neighborhood relations, and with his physical and mental condition. She will thus be in a position to advise the school and parents in regard to the source or sources of the child's difficulties.

Public Welfare.—Government is coming to assume an increasingly important share in social service. For a number of years there was a decided tendency to discourage the development of public-welfare work. It was believed that the welfare activities of government should be confined to those of a routine character and that all the problems requiring special training, leadership, and initiative should be reserved for private agencies. The attitude of social workers toward

public welfare has changed very decidedly in recent years. Many social-work leaders now assume that the government is the normal agency for social work and that private agencies should confine themselves to pioneering and demonstration.

The development of public-welfare work forms one of the most interesting chapters in American social-work history during the past decade. From a condition in which it was supposed to care for certain things in which private agencies were not interested, it has gradually risen to a position of leadership. Through mothers' aid legislation and the newly established outdoor-relief departments, cities and counties have entered the field of family welfare. State departments of public welfare have been entrusted with the responsibility of coördinating, improving, and developing the work of all the public and private agencies of their respective states. State departments of public welfare, moreover, are taking over a large part of the work of caring for dependent and neglected children.

The great expansion of public-welfare work in the United States has not been due to any desire to displace private agencies, but rather to a recognition on the part of private agencies themselves of their inability to assume continually growing relief responsibilities and to a recognition that the government is the only agency that can reckon effectively with the needs of all the people. The government cannot afford to discourage initiative. It will not step in until the fact has become evident that private initiative cannot satisfy some important need of the people. It must ever be ready to assume responsibility for certain human needs that are affected with public interest and that private initiative cannot satisfy.

Leisure Time.—The use of leisure time occupies a prominent place in the plans of the social worker for the families under his care. He has been made aware of the close connection between the use of leisure time and juvenile delinquency. The social worker, moreover, recognizes the fact that the proper use of leisure time plays an important part in the

child's educational development. As a result of their interest, social workers have been a great force in securing better leisure-time opportunities for all the people of the community. They have played an important rôle in the movement for securing well-equipped and carefully supervised playgrounds within reach of all the children of the city, in the development of school community centers, and in the fostering of special leisure-time programs for boys and girls.

Community Organization.—As social work has come to reckon with the various needs of individuals and families under care, it has recognized the great importance of close working relationships between the different social agencies of the community. An agency engaged in one particular form of service must depend on other agencies for a great many services which it is not in a position to render. It is of vital importance, then, that each agency have a clear understanding of the policies of the other agencies of the community. Many times a number of agencies rendering different forms of service will be compelled to work with one family. If they do not have a definite knowledge of each other's policies, the family is bound to suffer. There are, moreover, in every community, common problems such as child labor, more adequate health facilities, and better recreational facilities, for the solution of which joint action on the part of all the agencies is most essential.

Outlook of Social Work.—The family, the dependent and neglected child, the delinquent child, the adult delinquent, health, industry, the law, the Church, the school, the state, leisure time, and the community are the focal points of social work. Social service is primarily interested in those who are not taken care of by the normal processes of life. It is interested in giving the poor family, the dependent and neglected child, the delinquent child, the sick, and the adult delinquent an opportunity of overcoming the defects and handicaps from which they have been suffering. In serving the handicapped,

whether individuals or families, it endeavors to make the best possible use of all the resources that the community has to offer. The social worker anxiously looks forward to the day when the individuals and families he now serves will be able to live normal human lives; when, like ordinary human beings, they will no longer need special assistance, but can rely on their own initiative and on the normal community agencies for the satisfaction of their needs. He wants to have the family develop a keener appreciation of its responsibilities. He knows very well from ordinary everyday experience that if the family fails to recognize its responsibilities, we shall have broken homes and dependent and neglected children. He is in hearty sympathy with every movement having for its purpose the conservation of home life. He does not want to see any child removed from its home except under most extreme circumstances.

The social worker is anxious that the Church should reach an ever-increasing number of persons and that she should continue to exercise a wider and more profound influence in human affairs. The Church is the greatest ally of the home in preparing human lives for this world and the next. The social worker is anxious to see the school reach out into the home and join hands with parents in the great task of training the young. He believes that every offender against the law should be dealt with as an individual human being for whom there is a promise and a hope. He believes that the state is bound to play an increasingly important rôle in all social welfare work. He recognizes that many of the problems call for the expending of funds which will more than tax the capacity of any private agency. He believes that many of these problems are so vast and are of such a nature as to demand the support of all the people. For all practical purposes, the state is the only agency which can command the support of all in its welfare projects.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. How far is participation in works of charity a part of the obligations of the Christian life?
2. What bearings do the corporal and spiritual works of mercy have on our daily lives?
3. To what extent is the individual bound to give of his wealth to works of charity?
4. In what fields of activity has social-work technique been found helpful?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- GILLIN, JOHN LEWIS, *Poverty and Dependency* (rev. ed., The Century Co., New York, 1926), Chap. II.
- HAYES, PATRICK CARDINAL, *The Ministry of Christian Charity* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, 1925), pp. 8-22.
- KERBY, WILLIAM J., *The Social Mission of Charity* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921).
- LAPP, JOHN A., Presidential Address, National Conference of Social Work, Des Moines, 1927.
- LEO XIII, POPE, "The Condition of the Working Classes," *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* (Benziger Bros. New York, 1903), pp. 208-248.
- MCENTEGART, BRYAN J., "The Doctrinal Groundwork of Catholic Charities," *Catholic Charities Review*, X (1926), 203-206.
- McNICHOLAS, MOST REV. JOHN T., Sermon preached at opening session of National Conference of Catholic Charities, Milwaukee, *Report*, National Conference of Catholic Charities (Washington, 1921), p. 2.
- QUEEN, STUART A., and MANN, DELBERT M., *Social Pathology* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1925), Chap. I.
- RYAN, JOHN A., *The Spiritual Element in Social Work* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926), pp. 62-70.
- SWIFT, LINTON B., "The Chest and the Family Society," *The Family*, VI, No. 5.
- TAUQUERAY, AD., *Synopsis Theologiæ Moralis et Pastoralis* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1907), III, 45.
- TURNER, RIGHT REV. WILLIAM, Sermon preached at opening session of National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, *Report*, National Conference of Catholic Charities (Washington, 1921), p. 2.

CHAPTER II

MODERN FAMILY LIFE

The Family and the Industrial Revolution.—It is a well-recognized fact in recent years that family life has passed through a number of very serious revolutions. From the standpoint of human welfare they are the most far-reaching of all the social revolutions of the past century. In studying the changes that have taken place in the family, we find that they are traceable directly to the industrial revolution of the latter part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution removed industry from the home. The skilled craftsman who heretofore had worked in his own home with his own tools and turned out a finished product in which he justly prided himself was compelled to transfer the scene of his labors to the factory, where he was one of thousands. Instead of turning out the finished product as he had formerly done, he had to be satisfied with completing only one simple process. He had to leave his home, in the country or in the village, with its garden plot in which he spent his leisure moments and which yielded a large part of his food supply, and take up his abode in the crowded, congested quarters of the city.

In recent years, certain types of work which have been accepted as an essential part of home life have been turned over to the factory and the workshop. Comparatively few homes now have their wash days or their days for baking. Bread and pastry are purchased from the baker, and the laundry is turned over to the laundryman. The apartment hotel and the rooming house have made cooking a thing of the past for a large number of families. The development of me-

chanical appliances like the fireless cooker has tended to simplify very greatly what remains of home work.

Machinery and the Employment of Women and Children.—The introduction of machinery and large-scale production rendered skill entirely unnecessary in many fields. It was found that, in many processes, women and children were just as efficient as men and could be employed at much lower wages. Some industries became almost entirely women's industries. There were apparently no misgivings with respect to the employment of women and children in manufacturing. Instead, rosy pictures were painted of the improved circumstances of young women once living in miserable hovels with their parents and now comfortably housed, clothed, and fed by their own efforts. Enthusiastic accounts were also written of the villages and households where the whole family was employed in industry. Very general, likewise, was the approval of child labor. Those mechanical devices were most esteemed which could be operated in part by children from five to ten years old.

With the introduction of machinery there appeared a new economic philosophy which caused very serious hardships for the wage-earner. Previously it was generally assumed that wages should be regulated by guild statute, or by law, in such a way as to secure for the wage-earner sufficient to maintain him according to his particular social status. The new economic philosophy assumed that wages were regulated by the natural law of supply and demand. It held out very little hope to the wage-earner of improving his position either by law or by collective action. As the factory system developed, the conditions of the wage-earner steadily grew worse. The only remedy which the economists suggested for the sufferings of the workers was a restriction of population, but the wage-earners themselves were not satisfied with this remedy. They believed that they were at a serious disadvantage in bargaining with their employers, and that this disadvantage could be

removed by collective action or by law. They believed that if they were only placed in a position of equality with their employers so far as bargaining was concerned much of their suffering would be ended.

Employment of Women and Children and Home Life.—

The employment of large numbers of women and children in factories exercised a very far-reaching influence on home life. In the beginnings of the factory system, there was practically no regulation of the hours and working conditions. All investigations show that women and children worked for excessively long hours and under very unhealthful conditions. Thoughtful students began at an early date to emphasize the dangers of this situation for the future of the race. They were well aware that the undermining of the health of women really meant the undermining of the health of future generations. It is very evident that anything which seriously affects the health of the mother must seriously affect family life. By reason of the close association between woman's welfare and the welfare of the race it is recognized rather generally that the state should make special provision for the protection of her health and morals. With these objectives in view, all our more progressive states have recently passed laws regulating the hours of labor and the conditions under which women work. A number of states have also passed minimum-wage laws for women workers.

There is a general impression that women's work is often of a temporary character, a kind of diversion between the time they leave school and marriage. This impression, however, is not borne out by the facts. According to the census figures, we have nearly two million married women gainfully employed in this country. The census figures show, moreover, that the number of married women in industry is on the increase. In 1890, less than five out of every hundred married women were gainfully employed. In 1920, nine out of every hundred married women were gainfully employed. The total

number of women employed in industry has increased by 7 per cent since 1910; the number of married women has increased by 43 per cent.¹

It is very difficult for the mother who goes out to work to give the necessary attention to her duties as a home-maker. She cannot give her children the proper physical care. Infant mortality studies show a higher mortality rate for children whose mothers are gainfully employed than for the children of mothers who are not so employed. In its study of infant mortality in Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1917, the United States Children's Bureau found that: "Babies of mothers gainfully employed during the year preceding the baby's birth had a mortality rate of 192.2, whereas the rate for babies of mothers whose gainful work was in the home was 149.8, for babies whose mothers worked away from home 227.5." ²

In order that the children may be able to make proper selections in life, in order that they may be prepared to bear their fair share of life's responsibilities, it is necessary that they have close supervision by parents during their early years. This supervision should continue from infancy until the boy or girl is sufficiently mature to be placed on his or her own responsibility. The records of all child-caring agencies show that children of working mothers suffer very seriously from lack of proper parental supervision. Working mothers sometimes assume that, when their children are attending school, there is little need for further supervision. They do not reckon with the fact that the children are free to run the street between the closing of school and the end of the working day.

We have been reasonably successful in keeping the child out of industry. In the interest of the child we have been endeavoring to keep the mother out of industry also. Large sums have been expended in relief so that mothers might be able to remain at home and take care of their children. How little we

¹ Mary N. Winslow, "Married Women in Industry," Publication No. 38, United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, p. 21.

² Bureau Publication No. 20, *Infant Mortality Series*, No. 6, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 51.

have succeeded the census figures will tell. The fact of the matter is that we are compelled to select between two evils. The family suffers from neglect when the mother goes out to work. It suffers from poverty when she remains at home. Which of the two is the greater evil? With the facts at hand, it is impossible to give any general answer. Each case must be decided on its own merits.³

Recreation and the Home.—The development of large-scale industries brought great numbers of workers into close proximity to the industrial plants. Property values rose rapidly and workmen had to satisfy themselves with very small quarters. Men and women who had been brought up in the country found themselves in a new situation. Home in the city was not like the old home. The home in the congested urban center had very few facilities for recreation. In order to meet the recreational needs of the young, commercial recreation centers sprang up on all sides. In these centers the young were given opportunities for enjoyment without any of the restrictions of the home or of the old-time neighborhood.

The standards of commercial recreation were determined very largely by those who wanted pleasure without restraint. Therefore it had a tendency to lower the whole moral tone of society, and in order that its worst abuses might be stopped, the state had to step in and regulate the various types of commercial recreation. But no matter how it might be regulated, commercial recreation could never satisfy entirely the leisure-time needs of the people. Wholesome recreation had to be provided for all, and particularly for the young.

Neighborhood and Home Life.—In the old neighborhood, custom and tradition exercised a very important influence on conduct. The moment any individual failed to observe the laws of correct living, public opinion in the neighborhood was immediately aroused against him and he was singled out for severe criticism. Everybody became suspicious of him and was loath to do business with him. In the modern city, the indi-

³ Mary N. Winslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-6.

vidual may violate many of the most sacred rules of the moral law without inviting the censure of public opinion. He can easily escape the public eye. A large section of the public, moreover, seems to have reached the point where it is no longer concerned with the individual's private conduct. The individual is, therefore, compelled to fall back more and more on the moral and spiritual training that he has received in his own home, and on religion.

Economic Independence and Home.—The industrial revolution, by removing many of the old-time functions of the home, has tended to lessen its prestige. Children who have become self-supporting no longer are inclined to look to their parents for guidance and direction. Economic independence has brought independence in regard to other concerns of life. Children feel perfectly capable of working out their own plans without the assistance of their elders. Many times they do not recognize any responsibility toward their families other than the payment of their board. All their surplus is devoted to their own pleasures. The modern city has particular dangers for these young men and women with liberal expense accounts and with little sense of responsibility. They find in the city all kinds of opportunities for self-indulgence.

Training Functions of Home More Important.—While many of its old-time functions have been removed from the home, its fundamental task of training children has become all the more important. In the complex situations in which they find themselves, children need the direction of their parents now more than ever before. Parents can no longer assume that the customs and traditions of their communities will be a sufficient safeguard for the welfare of their children. Children must now depend in great part on the training they have received from their parents in order to bear them up against the dangers that constantly come their way.

We find large numbers of parents in our urban communities who are not conscious of the dangers to child life that modern civilization has developed. They seem to assume that their

children do not need any greater amount of care than they received in their own childhood days. Many of these parents have come from simple rural communities where neighborhood opinion was a powerful factor in the protection of childhood. In the simple rural community, the child is almost constrained by public opinion to observe certain standards of conduct. He cannot depart very much from the recognized moral standards of the community without inviting serious public censure. In the modern city, the conditions are entirely different. The air of freedom which pervades the city is exercising a profound influence on the rising generation. The opportunities for pleasure and the temptations to which the young are exposed have been multiplied. In the complex life of the city, it is easy for the young bent on pleasure to lose themselves in the crowd and to escape the critical eyes of neighbors and friends. In the city, moreover, we find an easy-going and tolerant attitude toward morality which readily condones the misdeeds of the young.

Many Parents Unconscious of Dangers of Child Life.—Some parents assume that somehow or other the upbringing of children will take care of itself. They have very little interest in their children's education or in the associations they form outside of the home. The fact that adolescent children are out every evening at the "movies" and keep late hours does not worry them in the least. The father returns home in the evening after his day's work, reads his paper and smokes his pipe, or perhaps, goes out to his club. He scarcely gives a passing thought to the concerns of his growing boys. He does not enter into their hobbies or their games; he does not think of establishing confidential relations with them so that they may come to him with their difficulties and worries. The mother is so busy with the details of home management, or, perhaps, with her social duties, that she has very little time for the girls of the family. She does not seem to appreciate that not only the girls, but also the boys of to-day require constant, unceasing efforts on the part of the mother. She

must enter into their lives and get a sympathetic understanding of their problems.

Children of to-day are exposed to all kinds of influences, both good and bad. All kinds of allurements are held out to them. They have neither the experience nor the knowledge necessary to guide them in separating the good from the bad. They need the wider knowledge and experience of their parents to guide and direct them. If parents are remiss in this important duty, the children are liable to select as the models of their behavior the latest hero of the moving pictures, or some boy or girl who makes a special appeal to them, but whose plan of life is very far from being ideal.

Some time ago the writer had occasion to deal with a mother who had had trouble with her sixteen-year-old daughter. The mother at first called to ask assistance in securing a position for the daughter, who, according to her statement, had been out of work for two weeks. She did not have the slightest thought that there were any difficulties in the case. She accepted without question the reason given by the daughter for leaving her last position, which was that "she could not stand the boss any longer." After the mother's departure, the information which she had given concerning her daughter's former employers, and also her school record and her attendance at Church were followed up. Her school-teacher stated that the girl had always been a very indifferent student. She was bright, but little interested in her work, and had left school before the end of the seventh grade, which she had been compelled to repeat. The teacher felt that the girl must have had poor home influence. The first employer interviewed stated that she had been dismissed because of the disturbing influence she was exercising over the other girls. Before the inquiry was completed, the mother returned to the office in tears, saying that her daughter had been out all the previous night, and that the police department reported that she had been spending her evenings in some of the worst dance-halls in the city, and had been associating with very vicious men.

This mother had no conception of what was happening to her daughter until the situation became acute. The fact that the girl had been keeping very late hours for more than a year had not concerned her at all. She had so much confidence in her daughter that she believed that she could do no wrong. We find many mothers of this type. They are entirely unaware of the dangers their children face outside of the home, and they concern themselves very little with the children's associations or with the hours they keep.

Children Show Evidences of Neglect.—At a very early age, children begin to give evidence of the lack of interest on the part of parents. Recently the difficulties of a family in more than comfortable circumstances came to the attention of the writer. The father held a very responsible executive position. The mother devoted most of her time to art and music. The three little girls, aged four, six, and seven, were left alone for the greater part of the day or in charge of a negro servant. The father gradually discovered that the children were becoming very rough and unruly. On several occasions the mother was heard to ask the four-year-old girl to do certain things, and the invariable response was a sulky frown or a positive "I won't." Even a casual contact with these children showed that their language and their habits had been learned on the street. The father in desperation finally decided to place the children in a boarding-school.

Modern psychology is coming to attach more and more importance to the habit formation of children of pre-school age. Hence it is that nursery schools, having as their purpose the aiding of parents in training children of pre-school age, are making such an appeal in a number of cities.

Parents Who Are Too Rigid.—In all types of work with families, we come into contact with parents who are excessively rigid in dealing with their children. Some of these parents have been brought up in a relatively simple civilization and have little appreciation of the problems of child life at the present time. They endeavor to apply to their children

the same rigid régime under which they were brought up. The children, naturally, compare their lot with that of other children, and are anxious to share their pleasures. They catch that spirit of freedom which is in the air. Instead of giving their children a regulated freedom, such parents restrain them at every point. One of two things is likely to happen to children who have been exposed to this form of rigid control. They may become very shy and retiring, or they may rebel. The very shy child, the child whose feelings are always repressed, does not develop that ability to get along with other children which is such an essential part of his preparation for life. He is exceedingly sensitive, easily takes offense, and is frequently in trouble with other children. He also lacks initiative because he has been accustomed to lean too much on his parents. The repressed child will never take the lead in any form of group activity.

Too rigid discipline on the part of the parents frequently leads to complete revolt against parental authority. The child thus begins to lose his respect for his parents and becomes sulky and stubborn in his relations with them. His final revolt is sometimes marked by running away from home, by staying out late at night, by refusal to attend school, or by constant association with companions who have lost all respect for law and order.

A priest once referred a little boy ten years of age to the writer. The priest complained that the little lad had been very irregular in his attendance at school and had lost all interest in his studies; that he spent his days shooting craps with three other boys. An interview with the boy's parents revealed that they had frequently punished him very severely. The physician who examined him reported that his body bore the marks of severe corporal punishment.

Factors in Parental Failure.—The failure of parents in their great task of training children is due in very great measure to ignorance and lack of a proper sense of moral responsibility. A large percentage of the families in American

cities have passed through all the stages of the industrial revolution within a very brief period. The parents of these families were brought up in a simple rural civilization, many of them on small farms in Europe. From the simple surroundings of their earlier years they have suddenly been transferred to the great caldron of American city life. The laws, the customs, the institutions, almost everything in fact, is new to them. They are asked to adjust themselves to this new environment at the age of manhood and womanhood, when old habits have become deeply rooted and the formation of new habits has become exceedingly difficult. In view of these circumstances it is very hard for them to appreciate the dangers and the difficulties to which their children are exposed. From their associates in school and on the streets the children quickly acquire new methods of living and thinking. There is thus created a chasm in family life which has untold possibilities for mischief. The young are anxious to taste all the pleasures of city life. The parents may try to restrain them unduly, shutting them out from innocent and harmful pleasures alike, or they may adopt an easy-going and indifferent attitude.

In guiding children in these days, parents must rely more and more on sympathetic understanding rather than on the exercise of parental authority. Parents who have this sympathetic understanding of their children find little difficulty in matters of discipline. There develops between such parents and their children a true friendship and intimate companionship which no circumstance can rend. There will be very few orders in such families. The children learn to respect the wishes of the parents because of their deep love and respect for them.

We find that the family in which the parents are always laying down the law and in which authority is continuously in evidence has almost reached the breaking-point. The children do not respect the parents. There is a lack of that mutual love and friendship that is the very base of true family life.

Lack of Moral Responsibility.—Ignorance regarding the obligations of family life is by no means as destructive as the lack of moral responsibility. It is rather surprising to note how many parents with very little knowledge in regard to problems of child-care in our time manage to discharge the essential obligations of married life. This is by no means an apology for ignorance or for its perpetuation. The author refers to the matter here in order to point out the fallacy of the teaching which overemphasizes the relation between knowledge and successful family life. Lack of moral responsibility is a far more important factor than ignorance in the undermining of home life. If we study the failures of family life as evidenced in desertion and non-support, we will find that unwillingness to meet the trials and difficulties of married life is, as a rule, the most fundamental factor in these failures; the parents—one or both—are simply unwilling to shoulder their responsibilities. The unwillingness on the part of the father to meet his responsibilities becomes apparent in his failure to hold a steady position, or to turn over a sufficient share of his wages to enable the mother to secure the necessities of life for the family, and in his lack of interest in the welfare of his children. It is evidenced in its most extreme form by the man who permanently deserts his family, is unfaithful to the sacred promises made at the marriage altar, or seeks on the slightest pretext to break the marriage contract. The failure of the wife to bear her share of family responsibility is shown in her nagging attitude toward her husband; her unwillingness to sympathize with him in his difficulties; her lack of effort to make the home attractive to husband and children; the excessive amount of time she devotes to social activities, to the neglect of her home duties; and finally and most important, her unwillingness to assume the burdens incidental to child-care.

Family Life Means Continuous Sacrifice.—Sacrifice is the very essence of family life. Both man and wife must be willing to make the surrenders necessary for peace and harmony in

their relations and in the care of children. This means that neither can have his or her way entirely. The family must be a rather complete mutuality. All its arrangements should be based on common counsel and understanding.

Family life means continuous sacrifice, because the marriage contract is not subject to the whims and caprices of either party. It is, of its very nature, indissoluble. When two people join together for the purpose of founding a family, both common sense and Christian teaching demand that their union be permanent. "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder."⁴ "Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery and he that marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery."⁵

Serious difficulties do sometimes arise in families, but once we permit these difficulties to justify the breaking of the marriage contract, we are undermining the respect in which marriage should be held, we are giving the selfish and the self-centered an opportunity of evading their obligations, and we are placing a serious temptation in the way of many who are now bearing difficulties with patience and resignation.

We can never make the family the school for self-discipline and self-sacrifice that it should be so long as we make it possible for men and women to escape the obligations of married life. And if we do not find self-discipline and self-sacrifice in the family, we cannot expect to find them in our social relationship generally. If children do not acquire these fundamental virtues in their homes, there is but little chance of their learning them in any other way. The history of divorce legislation, moreover, shows that the possibility of securing divorce under any pretext leads to the securing of divorce under the slightest pretexts.

Preparation for Marriage.—The failures of family life in our time have provoked considerable discussion of the neces-

⁴ *St. Matt.* IX. 16.

⁵ *St. Luke* XVI. 18.

sity of more adequate preparation for the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood. In this, as in other departments of life, there is a danger of over-stressing the advantages of knowledge. Knowledge is very essential. It is most essential that young men and women, before entering into the marriage state, should be fully informed in regard to all that it involves, of their duties one toward the other and toward their children. Many marriages turn out very unhappily because there is not a mutual understanding of what marriage involves. Many families fail in their essential tasks because parents do not know how to deal intelligently with their children. They do not recognize that children of this generation require different treatment from that which they themselves received in their own childhood days. More important for the success of family life than mere knowledge is well-developed moral character. Before marriage young men and women must have acquired a high degree of self-control. They must have the strength and courage to sacrifice their own pleasures in the interests of the family. The broken home is largely a reflection of the moral failure of parents. There may be circumstances which aggravate or minimize the culpability; the fundamental fact, however, remains that the broken home is due in the last analysis to the failure of parents to sacrifice their own interests for the welfare of the family.

By the law of the Church, the pastor is required to make a careful study of the status of parties about to be married. He must inquire about any possible impediments to the marriage. He must secure a baptismal certificate for both parties. He must assure himself that they are properly instructed in their religion. If he finds them lacking in sufficient information regarding the fundamentals of religion, he must instruct them. He must give specific instructions concerning the duties and responsibilities of the married state.⁶

Child Marriages.—From the nature of the marriage con-

⁶ Ad. Tanqueray, *Synopsis Theologiæ Moralis et Pastoralis* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1907), I, 515-516.

tract it is obvious that marriage is not something to be taken up lightly and without mature consideration. Every social worker and every priest recognizes that hasty and ill-advised marriages are a very important factor in the breakdown of family life. It is recognized that the legal minimum age for marriage should be sixteen for girls and eighteen for boys. We find, however, that in fourteen of our states the legal minimum age is still fourteen for boys and twelve for girls.⁷ These states are Kentucky, Louisiana, and Virginia, where the minimum ages are fixed by statute; Florida, Maine, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Tennessee, where they are fixed by judicial decisions based on common law; and Colorado, Idaho, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey, and New York, where the common law applies. According to Canon Law, boys must have completed their sixteenth year and girls their fourteenth in order to marry validly.⁸

The Census of 1920 shows that 12,834 girls recorded as married were fifteen years old at the time the Census was taken and that 5,554 more were under fifteen, giving a total of 18,388 who were under sixteen and had married before fifteen. Richmond and Hall have estimated that in 1920 there were approximately 343,000 women and girls in the United States who began their married lives at fifteen or under and that there were 324,000 husbands who began their married life at seventeen or under. This means that there was a total of 667,000 persons, excluding children, whose lives were influenced by child marriages.⁹

One of the outstanding characteristics of child marriages is the haste with which they are entered into. The present legal requirements in regard to age and parental consent are frequently set at naught by antiquated methods of administration. The investigations of the Russell Sage Foundation show that in fifty-seven of the sixty-eight marriage-license offices

⁷ Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *Child Marriages* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925).

⁸ Codex C. 1067.

⁹ Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

in twenty-five states no proof of age was required other than the affidavits of the young people who applied or their witnesses, supplemented in occasional instances by the affidavits of parents.

When young people want to get married, it is a very easy matter for them to overcome the legal requirements in regard to age and parental consent. If they cannot do so in their own state, they cross over to one of the "Gretna Greens" where they can secure a license and get married within the space of a few hours. They have very little scruple about falsifying in regard to their ages or, if necessary, about forging parental consent.

For centuries the Catholic Church has required that the banns of marriage be proclaimed on three succeeding Sundays in the parish churches of both parties. This triple proclamation must be made before the marriage ceremony takes place. The proclamation has a decided tendency to discourage secret and hasty marriages. The pomp and ceremony with which the Church surrounds the marriage contract has the same tendency. The law of the Church also requires that the marriage must take place in the Church of which the bride has been a member and that the ceremony must be performed by the bride's pastor or some other clergyman delegated by him.

Divorce in the United States.—Since the family, by the very nature of its responsibilities, calls for the permanent union of man and wife, there is no topic which should give greater concern to the social worker than divorce. Those who are interested in the conservation of family life have every reason to be alarmed at the increasing divorce rate in the United States in recent years. Figures published by the United States Census Bureau show that during the quarter of a century prior to 1925 the increase of divorce in the United States was far greater than the growth of population per thousand. The number of divorces per thousand population increased from 0.47 in 1887 to 1.52 in 1925.

The census reports have endeavored to make a classification

of the causes of divorce based on a study of court records. On the basis of its classification it found that of the 173,480 divorces granted in 1925, 16,985, or 9.8 per cent, were granted for adultery; 65,698, or 37.9 per cent, for cruelty; 55,106, or 31.8 per cent, for desertion; 2,429, or 1.4 per cent, for drunkenness; and 6,333, or 3.7 per cent, for neglect to provide. The census reports, however, recognize that the legal causes may not be the true causes underlying action for divorce. It will be found that in any particular case the causes of divorce, are closely interwoven in the whole fabric of family life; that they are part and parcel of the attitude of one or both parties toward the responsibilities of family life. Given a proper understanding of the nature and responsibilities of married life, these responsibilities will not be lightly assumed and they will be borne faithfully and resolutely to the end.¹⁰

What can be done to prevent the disintegration of family life represented by our increasing divorce rate? In dealing with this as with other social evils, we may easily make the mistake of attaching too much importance to the law. In dealing with marriage, the state must proceed very slowly and very circumspectly, for in seeking to remedy existing evils it may bring about others that are far worse. There are, however, certain definite things which the state can do to develop a saner and healthier attitude toward marriage and its responsibilities. It can prohibit the marriage of young girls under sixteen and boys under eighteen. It can make it necessary for girls under eighteen and boys under twenty-one to secure the consent of their parents before obtaining a license to marry. Under the best child-labor laws, a child, before securing a permit to work, must present documentary proof in regard to age. Those who were interested in the enforcement of child-labor laws learned from hard-earned experience that they could not accept the word of the child or his parents in regard to his age. If it has been found necessary to secure

¹⁰ *Marriage and Divorce, 1925*, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, p. 25.

documentary proof of age for the granting of a work permit, it should also be necessary to secure documentary proof for a marriage license, and it should also be possible to secure more than a mere verbal statement from those under age relative to parental consent.

Laws requiring an advance notice to the issuer of licenses that the candidates intend to marry have a very useful effect in preventing ill-considered marriages. These laws usually require an advance notice of five days. They are a vindication of a long-established policy of the Catholic Church relative to the publication of the banns which has already been referred to in this chapter. Eight states now require an interval between the application for the marriage license and its issuance. They are Maine, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Delaware, Nebraska, and Georgia.¹¹

Socialized Divorce Courts.—In most jurisdictions in the United States, divorce cases are handled by the ordinary criminal courts without any facilities for making investigations of family situations or of the factors leading to petitions for divorce. In a number of cities, however, family or domestic relations courts have recently been established. These courts frequently exercise jurisdiction in divorce, desertion and non-support cases. A few domestic relations courts have a well-organized staff of probation officers. They are, accordingly, in a position to study and evaluate the facts in each case. As a result of their study they frequently find it possible to bring the parties together. If the probation department is unable to effect a reconciliation, it will at least be able to furnish the judge with the facts which will help him to render a sound decision.

Well-organized courts of domestic relations will naturally be anxious to invoke the assistance of the Church in their work. Thus in Cincinnati, the Catholic Charities organization works in close coöperation with the Court of Domestic Relations. The court gladly accepts the services of this agency in

¹¹ Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

the adjustment of domestic difficulties in Catholic families.

The domestic relations court, with a well-organized probation service, working in close coöperation with the Church, should be able to save many families from dissolution. The probation officer will give the parties a final opportunity to consider in all its bearings the seriousness of the step they are about to take. He will not give up hope until he has canvassed every possibility for reconciliation. He will give the Church an opportunity of using all its influence for the preservation of the family. Through the court of domestic relations the Church is thus given a chance of establishing contact once more.

The foregoing legal measures for the control of marriage and divorce have been emphasized because they are calculated to make people think before they assume the responsibilities of married life, or before they endeavor to free themselves from their responsibilities. But thinking, of itself, is not going to solve the problem. There must be a true understanding of the nature of marriage, and there must be that self-discipline and training which give the individual the power of meeting the obligations of married life. So long as men believe that the marriage bond is something that can be easily set aside, so long as they are untrained in the school of self-sacrifice, no amount of legislation can prevent the disintegration of family life.

Desertion and Non-support.—Desertion and non-support, like divorce, represent efforts on the part of persons to escape the difficulties and responsibilities of family life. The deserter is a man who leaves home either permanently or temporarily in order to get away from the responsibility of supporting his family. We sometimes find women who desert their families, but the number of women deserters is small compared with that of men deserters. A non-supporter is one who remains with his family but fails to contribute to its support. In work with families, we come in contact with two general types of deserters. There is the deserter who leaves his family with no

intention of returning, and there is the deserter who leaves for short periods. The man who leaves his family without any thought of returning frequently secures a divorce by proclamation in another state. Permanent desertion means a complete break in the family life. This break may be the result of a long train of internal difficulties. It means that the man has finally given up the hope of getting the wife to discharge her duties as a home-maker, or that he has surrendered to his own weakness or temptations outside of the home. The permanent deserter is by no means as common as the intermittent deserter. And it is the latter that gives most concern to all workers with families.

The first thought of those who have had little experience in dealing with these cases is to hale the deserter before the bar of justice and compel him by law to support his family. The problem is, however, generally more complex than would at first appear. Court action may sometimes ruin the chances for reconciliation. Moreover, deserters have many opportunities for evading court orders.¹² They may get away from the jurisdiction of the court, or they may make little effort to secure employment. Court action is sometimes very useful and necessary, but it is always a last resort. If we are to make any headway in dealing with the deserter, we must get a clear understanding of his viewpoint and the circumstances leading to his desertion. We must study his past desertions, his employment record, the history of his married life, his attitude toward his family responsibilities, his religious training and practices, the type of home from which he came, and the amount of education he received. We must also have rather complete information in regard to the social, religious, and educational background of the wife. Since she is, in many instances, partially responsible for her husband's desertion, we must pay particular attention to her ability as a home-maker and to her fidelity to her duties as a wife and mother.

¹² J. C. Colcord, *Broken Homes* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919), Chap. III.

As we study the background of the deserter, we will invariably find a lack of the sense of responsibility due to lack of early religious training and proper parental influence. With well-rounded religious training in early life and proper home influence, we can be reasonably sure that the individual will have the proper attitude toward his family responsibilities. There may be circumstances which make family life difficult, but these can never excuse a man in the discharge of his parental responsibilities. We find instances in which an overbearing attitude on the part of the wife or her failure to make home life attractive plays an important part in desertion. These circumstances and these alone will not induce a man with the right type of training and a sound philosophy of family life to shirk his family obligations. When real family life is no longer possible, either party is justified in seeking a legal separation. The court will then see to it that plans are made for the care of the wife and children. Under no circumstances is an able-bodied man justified in letting his family shift for itself.

The Christian Family.—The changes incident to the industrial revolution have exposed family life to some very severe strains. It is only natural that a fairly large number of families have been unable to bear up under these strains. An older and more static civilization was not so trying to the weak family. Custom and tradition held it together, or at least prevented its failure from becoming so marked. In the newer civilization, the failures of family life are more frequent and more noticeable. There is, however, too much of a tendency at the present time to stress the failures of the family. Those who have written about family life have paid too much attention to the broken family. It is so much easier to get information about it than about the family that is discharging its responsibilities according to the higher standards. If we look to the normal families of our communities, we will find that their family life to-day is much better than the life of normal families at any time before. The same stresses and strains that have borne so

heavily on the weak family have made the ordinary family stronger, more vigorous, more keenly conscious of its increasing responsibilities, and better prepared on the whole to meet the complex problems of modern family life.

The family is the most fundamental of all human institutions. It is essential for the propagation of the race. It is necessary for the happiness and well-being of the great majority of men and women. In man it creates a sense of responsibility and a consecration to duty that develop the finest qualities of his nature, and in woman it brings to expression that love and patient self-sacrifice that have ever been her pride and her ambition. The family, moreover, is the nursery of all the finer virtues of the race. Love, self-sacrifice, ambition, kindness, respect for the rights of others, reverence for authority—these are the characteristic virtues of home life. They are also the virtues that society as a whole needs in order to attain its fundamental objectives. If these virtues do not flourish in the home, we cannot expect to find them in society.

Christ raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament. Under the Christian dispensation, marriage became one of the great means through which the human race was to have access to the graces of redemption. Man and wife were to have special grace to enable them to discharge faithfully the serious responsibilities of the married state. The supernatural character of marriage is clearly expressed by St. Paul when he compares it to the union of Christ and His Church, "Husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the Church and delivered Himself for it that He might sanctify and cleanse it."¹³

According to the teaching of the Church, the sex instinct is inseparably bound up with the duties and responsibilities of married life. The Church has looked upon gratification of the sex instinct apart from the responsibilities of family life as sinful and wrong. The sex instinct has been given to man primarily for race preservation. It is an altruistic instinct. Any use of the instinct for purely selfish purposes is, there-

¹³ *Eph.* V. 25-26.

fore, fundamentally wrong. The Church realizes that as a preparation for family life nothing is more valuable than self-control. She looks to religious education as the best means of forming human lives after a Christian ideal. She holds up the teaching of Christ and the example of the Blessed Virgin and the saints as the highest models of Christian purity and sanctity. She encourages frequent reception of the sacraments of penance and the Blessed Eucharist, and the formation of habits of prayer and union with God as the best means of resisting evil impulses. In her constant emphasis on the obligations of parents to children and of children to parents, the Church has made an important contribution to family life. She has always emphasized the fact that children have certain fundamental rights which parents are bound to respect; that the children must be given an opportunity of developing their God-given talents; that they have a right to an education that will prepare them properly to discharge their life's responsibilities. They have a right especially to a religious education that will enable them to understand life's fundamental aims and purposes as interpreted by Christian teaching.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. How far is the development of home recreation for the young practicable? What are some of the difficulties to be met in developing home recreation?
2. What are some of the changes regarding family authority that you have noted in recent years?
3. What preparation should young people have before undertaking the responsibilities of family life?
4. To what extent and in what ways does the apartment house influence family life?
5. In what ways does the Church contribute to the upbuilding of family life?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOSANQUET, HELEN, *The Family* (The Macmillan Co., New York 1906).

COLCORD, JOANNA, *Broken Homes* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919).

Conference on Family Life (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1928).

FLETCHER, MARGARET, *The Christian Family* (Oxford Catholic Social Guild, London, 1920).

GROVES, ERNEST R., *The Drifting Home* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1926).

—*Social Problems of the Family* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1927).

HALL, FRED S., and RICHMOND, MARY E., *Child Marriages* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925).

KERBY, WILLIAM J., *The Family As an Institution in Society* (National Conference of Social Work, 1926).

Marriage and Divorce, 1925, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

MUNTSCH, REV. ALBERT, S.J., *The Family* (Central Bureau of Central Verein, St. Louis, 1927).

Publication No. 20, *Infant Mortality Series*, No. 6, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

SPENCER, ANNA GARLIN, *The Family and Its Members* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1926).

WINSLOW, MARY N., "Married Women in Industry," Publication No. 38, United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CASE WORK AND THE FAMILY

Processes of Social Case Work.—In the foregoing chapter we have dealt with some of the general trends in family life and with the forces making for the undermining of the family. In this chapter, we propose to deal with the relations of social case work to the family. Before discussing these relations, we should have a clear understanding of the meaning and technique of social case work. According to Miss Mary E. Richmond, social case work consists of those processes which develop personality, through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment.¹ One might well ask whether this is not claiming too much for social work. Does this definition set off with sufficient clearness the work of the case worker from that of the priest or the doctor? Social workers certainly cannot claim that theirs is the only intelligent approach to the problems of human maladjustments. Such a claim would be a serious reflection on the older professions and would most assuredly be resented by them.

The Priest As Social Worker.—The priest gives his life to the alleviation of human ills. In his dealings both with groups and with individuals, he is ever setting before them the Christian plan of life and the motives for carrying out that plan. He endeavors to interpret for each individual the obligations which the Christian plan of life imposes. When the priest in the exercise of his ministry deals with an individual's difficulties, whether in the confessional or outside,

¹ Mary E. Richmond, *What is Social Case Work?* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922), pp. 98-99.

his first step is to get a sympathetic understanding of them. He is not satisfied merely with a knowledge of the present situation. He must be acquainted with the circumstances that have led up to it. He must know something of the temptations to which the individual is exposed in his everyday life, especially in so far as these temptations bear on the present situation. After analyzing the individual's difficulties, he must work out with him a definite plan for meeting them. In the background, the priest will always have as his objective the relating of the individual's life to the Christian plan of life. The method of unfolding the Christian plan, with its principles and motives, will vary with the particular situation. In dealing with persons who had become careless in regard to their obligations to their families, the writer frequently found it very helpful to recall for them the memory of their First Communion, of the religious instruction they had received in childhood, or of the ideals set before them by their teachers and parents.

While the priest may overlook some of the sources of information and influence which may be useful in dealing with the difficulties that are presented to him, he has a number of advantages over the case worker in dealing with many problems. He can usually win the confidence of people more easily than the case worker: he has, therefore, less difficulty in securing information, and can often use more direct methods.

The lay worker, however, can find admission to certain types of families that can never be reached by the priest. He establishes his contact through other forms of service. He has an opportunity of winning the family's confidence without touching the question of religion.

Many social workers look upon the priest just as they look upon the physician, as merely a specialist in his own department. They assume that he is not necessarily qualified by reason of his vocation to deal with the employment, health, recreational, and educational problems arising in family life. A bricklayer, fifty years of age, was referred to the pastor by

his sister. This man lived with his sister in a nicely furnished six-room house, owned by the latter. The man had given up work in order to remain at home and take care of his mother while the sister continued her regular work as a clerk. The mother had died recently, and the sister was anxious that the man should return to work. Several of his friends in the union had been urging him to return, but he had refused. This man's problem was in part religious and in part one of employment. For a number of years he had worked irregularly, but his mother never took a strong stand in dealing with him. Should the priest in this case simply have satisfied himself with giving this man a keener sense of his responsibility, turning the employment problem over to some other person, or should he not also have examined the man's employment possibilities? Our answer to the latter question should be decidedly in the affirmative. The turning-over by pastors to specialized agencies of all except purely religious problems would bring about a hopeless situation. The specialized agencies are now carrying abnormally heavy case loads. If the Church should turn over a part of its present work to them, they would, in all probability, reach the breaking-point.

Problems outside the Province of Ordinary Community Agencies.—Every person who has had any extended experience in dealing with individual or family difficulties will recognize that there are certain types of problems which cannot at present be dealt with effectively by the Church, the individual parish, or the school. A family consisting of man, wife, and eight children, from four to fifteen years of age, was referred by a pastor to a social agency two years ago because the man was not contributing regularly to the support of his family and the mother was ill and needed hospital care. The oldest boy, who was fourteen, was also reported as giving considerable trouble in school. Since the mother had to be taken to the hospital, it was decided to break up the family temporarily. Before the children were removed from the home they were given a thorough physical examination. The ex-

amination revealed that the oldest girl, fifteen, and the second girl, thirteen, were threatened with tuberculosis. The other children were greatly undernourished and in need of special home care. All of the children were placed in boarding homes. The mother's relatives agreed to assist in paying for their care. The father, who had spent most of his wages in gambling, agreed to turn over to the social worker a certain amount to be used in caring for the children. It will be of interest to note that the father turned over the agreed amount every week during the two years the family was under care. The health of the children improved very materially. It was decided that the two oldest girls should be kept in the boarding home after the mother's return from the hospital. The oldest boy ran away from the home in which he had been placed. On the advice of the psychiatrist who had examined him, he was sent to an institution for problem children. The reports received from the institution were rather discouraging. The superintendent stated that the boy had practically no interest in his studies. When he reached the age of fifteen, he was sent to work on the advice of the psychiatrist.

Function of the Trained Social Worker.—This family presented a number of difficulties that could not very well be dealt with by the pastor or volunteer organization. The pastor could not easily have found the right type of boarding home for two pre-tubercular girls. It might have been a simple matter for him to secure hospital care for the mother. Previous to the discharge of the mother from the hospital, the physician advised that she be sent to a country home to recuperate before taking up her family responsibilities. The priest or the volunteer organization would have been at a loss to find a country home for her. Common sense would suggest a medical examination for all children before placement, and yet this is a matter that is overlooked not only by inexperienced persons but often by those who have been dealing with children's problems for a long period of years. After the boy had run away from the boarding home and the in-

stitution failed to make any progress in dealing with him, the pastor or volunteer would have been inclined to give up hope. But the social worker persisted; and as the result of her persistence, the boy is now doing much better. The income of this family had to be supplemented. In arranging for this supplementing, the case worker had to use a budget. The pastor or volunteer without special training is not accustomed to use a budget in relief work. There was a serious religious problem in this family. The man had not been attending Church for a number of years. The pastor had not detected the religious problem because he had not been looking for any other difficulties except the one that immediately presented itself. The social worker did not leave any source of trouble untouched. When she found that the religious problem did not yield to immediate treatment, she did not surrender, and her courage was rewarded by success.

The experience of the social worker with this family should give us an understanding of at least some of the more important processes of social case work. We cannot fail to note the broad view which the social worker took of the situation. She did not treat the man's failure to support his family as an isolated problem. She immediately scanned all the possibilities of the case. The mother looked haggard and worn, and as if in need of medical care. The family was not receiving sufficient income to maintain a reasonable standard of life. There was, therefore, the possibility that the children were undernourished—another medical problem. The worker had to understand the background of the man and wife: that the critical situation in the family was the result of a long train of circumstances.

Sociologists have long been telling us that we cannot understand any part of human life without understanding its relations to other parts. Any particular activity, they have informed us, is a part of the life process as a whole. Social case workers have been endeavoring to apply this general sociological principle in their dealings with their clients.

In dealing with the failure of the man in the case under discussion to discharge his responsibilities, the social worker had to reckon with the habits that he had formed in the past and with the influences that were being brought to bear on him at the time. Both were looked upon as a part of his environment and as exercising an important influence on his conduct. Neither one was over-stressed to the sacrifice of the principle of freedom of choice. The worker was conscious that by painstaking effort, reinforced by the teaching of his religion, the man could overcome his moral handicaps.

The social worker in this case needed to have a clear working knowledge of the resources of the community. She was called upon to provide hospital and convalescent care for the mother; she had to call on the parish organization to supplement the income of the family and to provide a "big brother" for the oldest boy; she had to find a suitable boarding home for two pre-tubercular girls; she had to provide temporary care in boarding homes for all the children while the mother was in the hospital; she had to call on relatives for advice in regard to the family and for assistance in caring for the children. No person without special training would have been able to make the best use of all available resources in dealing with this family. On the basis of her knowledge of the family, its assets and liabilities, the influences that were being brought to bear upon it, and the resources of the community available for its use, the social worker built up a plan that kept in mind all the family's needs.

No matter how complete and perfect the social worker's plan might have been, it would have amounted to very little without the whole-hearted coöperation of the family. It was, therefore, necessary for the worker to convince the family that she had something of value to contribute to its welfare. It was essential that she have the confidence of the family. There is nothing more difficult than the winning of people's confidence so that they will pour out their family difficulties and accept mediation in the solution of them. The worker who believes

that this is an easy matter has not profited by experience. Under economic or legal pressure, it sometimes appears easy to secure a certain amount of outward conformity with the plans formulated, but it must be remembered that a purely mechanical acceptance of plans is a poor substitute for genuine appreciation and a willingness to respect recommendations in regard to the major concerns of family life.

Good social workers are ever on their guard against appearing to impose their own views on their clients. It is their purpose to discuss with the client his problems and so to direct his thinking that he will seem to be formulating independently his own plan for the adjustment of his difficulties.

The social worker whose work we have been endeavoring to analyze needed to give long and painstaking effort in order to carry out her plans for the family under her care. It was only through foresight, tact, and perseverance that she could hope to make any permanent improvement in the standards of the family. The essential task that the social worker faces in the case of almost every family with which he or she deals is the building-up of character and of a new attitude toward life's responsibilities. The changing of engraved habits, particularly in adults, is a slow process, requiring steady effort on their own part and the bringing to bear on them of the best outside influences over a long period. The social worker will have many disappointments, but he cannot permit them to discourage him. He must have unlimited faith in man's ability, aided by the teaching and grace of religion, to improve his manner of living.

Definition of Social Case Work.—After the foregoing analysis of social case-work processes, we should be prepared to give a tentative definition of social case work which would set it off with sufficient clearness from the other professions. Social case work is the art of ministering to persons who have a great variety of needs, which, of themselves, they cannot satisfy directly or through normal agencies, through a complete understanding of those needs and through the full-

est use possible of their own resources and the resources of the community.

Analysis of the Definition.—This definition does not claim so much for social work as that given by Miss Richmond and it sets off more clearly the work of the case worker from, for example, that of the clergyman or the doctor. The definition includes four different concepts. In the first place, the social worker deals with persons who have a great variety of needs. As compared with the priest and the physician, he is, therefore, a sort of general practitioner. Second, the social worker deals with persons who, of themselves, are incapable of satisfying their own needs. The persons with whom one deals in social work are not reached by the normal agencies of the community. Many have drifted away from the Church and her influence. They are unacquainted with the free health facilities of their communities; they do not know how to buy in the most economical way; they have very little knowledge of food values. They frequently do not appreciate the advantages of a proper education for their children. Third, the social case worker does not look on any one need as an isolated phenomenon, but makes a complete study of all the possible needs of the individual or family. Fourth, the social worker, by reason of his knowledge of the resources of the individual and the community, is able to bring all these resources to bear on the particular problem that confronts the individual and the family.

Collection of Social Evidence for Diagnosis of Problems.—Social case work has developed a rather definite technique for the securing of information in regard to clients. The social worker endeavors to learn as much as possible in regard to the immediate problem. If it is a relief problem, he endeavors to discover why the individual or family was reduced to need; if it is a problem of delinquency, he studies the factors giving rise to wrong conduct. The social worker endeavors to get as complete a picture as possible of the family life of the individual. He studies the composition of the family; he secures

accurate information in regard to the religion of the family; the date of marriage of the parents; the dates of birth of the children and their grades in school, or employment; the health and education of all the members of the family; the occupation of the father; his income, his regularity of employment, and the associations and lodges to which he belongs; his interest in his children; his general attitude toward his family responsibilities; the mother as a home-maker; her ability to make the most of the income of the family; her attitude toward her children; the interest which she takes in their health and education; the attitude of father and mother toward their religious obligations; the relatives of the father and mother and their interest in the family; the character of the neighborhood; and the recreational opportunities available for children. For the purpose of logical arrangement, the information secured in regard to a family may be grouped under the following heads: (1) immediate problem—its history; how far it is due to character weakness, physical or mental defects, or lack of opportunity; (2) social status, including history of family, dates of marriage and birth of children, ages of parents, information in regard to family, and antecedents of both parents; (3) economic status, including occupation of father, his wages, regularity of his employment, occupations of children, possibility of improving economic status of both father and children; (4) health, including health of parents and children, physical condition of the home, plumbing, sewage, disposal of waste materials, food habits of family; facilities available for meeting the family's health needs and care which the parents give to their own health and the health of the children; (5) environment, including the influence of the home itself; attachment of children to parents and of parents to children, advice and direction given by parents to children, extent to which parents reckon with the problems of the children and endeavor to prepare them to meet these problems; (6) religious life; in dealing with Catholic clients, the social worker should not be

satisfied with the discovery that they attend Mass on Sundays, receive the Sacraments regularly, belong to parish societies, have been married in the Church and have arranged for their children to receive the Sacraments of Baptism, Holy Eucharist, and Confirmation. All this is essential, but it does not include everything that is embraced under the name of religion. The Catholic Church wants her members to have an intelligent appreciation of the truths and practices of their religion; she wants them to apply the teachings of their religion to the ordinary everyday concerns of life; (7) recreation; the social worker tries to discover how far the children find their recreation in the home, the types of recreational activities in which the children participate outside of the home, and the recreational facilities of the neighborhood; (8) education; the worker must acquaint himself with the general cultural outlook of the family, the education of the parents, and their interest in the education of their children as shown by the assistance they give to the children in their home work or their frequent visits to the school.

Technique of Social Case Work.—Social case workers have developed a fairly well-defined technique for securing the information necessary for intelligent service to individuals and families. This technique, according to Miss Richmond, includes four important processes: “(1) the first interview with the client, (2) early contacts with the immediate family, (3) the search for further insight and for sources of needed coöperation outside the immediate family circle, (4) the careful weighing in their relation to one another of the separate items of evidence thus gathered and their interpretation.”² Success or failure in dealing with a person will depend to a considerable degree on the character of the first interview. People usually go to social agencies for certain very definite things, and they feel that it is the duty of the agency to render the service they ask. When a person asks assistance in placing

² Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917), p. 103.

a child in an institution, it is no easy matter to get him to think out with the social worker some plan for taking care of the child in his own home. When a person asks for help in paying his rent, it is by no means easy to get him to think about the possibility of securing assistance from his relatives. If the social worker is to make any progress in dealing with the client, he must get his mind off the immediate problem. The client must be persuaded to think in regard to plans for the future. If he is in need of material relief, there are certain definite reasons there-for. If the cause is sickness, the social worker must think out with him ways and means of taking better care of his health; if it is irregular employment, means must be devised to secure steady employment for him. If he wants to have his children placed in an institution, he must be made to see that care of children away from their own homes should, as far as possible, be a temporary expedient; that children have a right to look to their own parents or their own relatives to prepare them for the battle of life. When a person comes to a social agency for assistance he is usually quite discouraged; people really come as a last resort. They feel that they have made a failure of their lives. From the very outset, then, the social worker must endeavor to fire them with enthusiasm and encourage them to take up their responsibilities anew.

The First Interview.—In holding a first interview, it should always be remembered that very much progress in dealing with a client cannot be made without winning his confidence. Success in winning his confidence will depend very largely on the character of the first interview. If a client goes away irritated or with a conviction that the social workers have no real contribution to make to his welfare, their chances of rehabilitating him has been seriously imperiled.

The weight of opinion among social workers to-day seems to be in favor of holding the first interview in the client's home. The client is more at his ease in his own home than in an office. In the home, moreover, the worker has an op-

portunity of studying the client as a member of a family group. The attitudes of the children toward the mother speak louder than any words in regard to the character of the home. If the children do not pay any attention to the directions given them by the mother, there is a situation that is fraught with serious possibilities. The order and cleanliness of the home are very useful clues to the ability of the mother as a home-maker. As Miss Richmond observes, the pictures on the walls speak volumes in regard to the past associations and ideals of the family.

In the first interview the worker must be careful not to make promises that cannot be redeemed. He must also not permit himself to be betrayed by the desire for immediate results. We have known of instances where members of volunteer organizations, after three visits to the home, decided against giving any assistance to the family unless the father promised to discharge his religious obligations. These good men and women fail to realize that economic pressure is not the best method of winning people back to the Church; that it sometimes takes months of painstaking and sympathetic effort to bring about a true religious reformation in the life of a family.

In the course of the first interview, the worker should endeavor to secure as much information as possible about the immediate problem, the composition of the family, its economic status, its health, its religious standards, the neighborhood, and the education of the children. The skilled person can usually secure the information in a simple, informal way. He rarely finds it necessary to ask direct questions. The experienced worker, moreover, tries as far as possible to avoid note-taking in the client's presence. It is not easy for most persons to remember names and addresses and dates of births. If the worker finds it necessary to take notes in regard to these matters it might be well to postpone note-taking until the interview is practically complete and then explain to the client why the information is needed.

Use of the Confidential Exchange.—Miss Richmond re-

minds us that "it will save the client's time and assure him better service to discover at once whether he has ever before been a client of the social agency now about to take up his case." This means that the worker should as a first step, canvass the files of his own agency. Wherever a confidential or social-service exchange has been established among the social agencies of a community, Miss Richmond goes on to state, the clerk can take the further step of telephoning the exchange. When the case is not urgent, it can be cleared with the exchange in the ordinary way. Every social agency using the exchange is provided with standard forms which call for information in regard to names and ages of different members of the family and former addresses. The forms, properly filled out, are forwarded to the exchange in duplicate. Through the information thus supplied, the exchange is able to determine whether or not the same family has been registered by some other agency. One of the forms is then returned with the notation "no information," which means that the family has not been registered by any other agency; or with the name of the agency or agencies registering and the date or dates on which they have registered.

It is impossible for any agency to do effective work without using the exchange. A large percentage of the cases coming to the attention of any agency will have already been known to other agencies in the community. It is very clearly a waste of time and effort to deal with these families without reckoning with the information and viewpoint of others who may have had long experience with them. It is, moreover, unjust to the family to compel it to give the same information to several agencies. If we proceed to deal with families without availing ourselves of the experience of other agencies, we are liable to make the same mistakes that they have made, and our work is, therefore, bound to suffer.

When the report of the confidential exchange shows that the family has been registered by other agencies, the worker should, if possible, read the records of these agencies and talk

with their workers before having the first complete interview with the family. The busy worker cannot always read the records of all the agencies that have dealt with a family under care. Theoretically, a complete investigation should include the reading of the records of all agencies. It will be found, however, that if a good family agency has been working on the case for a considerable length of time, it is not likely to have missed any of the essentials necessary for careful work. If, therefore, as will frequently happen, the worker is compelled to make a selection, he should begin with the family agency that has had greatest contact with the family. His next choice should be the agency that has dealt with the family most recently. His third choice should be the agency whose work most nearly resembles his own.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CASE WORK AND THE FAMILY—*Continued*

General Outside Sources Leading to Diagnosis.—The social worker cannot plan intelligently for the care of a family solely on the basis of the information which he receives in the course of the first interview. The information given by members of the family will, after all, be more or less biased because of their own likes and dislikes. If the social worker is to secure an objective picture of the family with its assets and liabilities, he must reach out to sources of information outside of the home. He must unearth information that will give a picture of the family not only in its present predicament, but also in its better days. The outside sources generally used by social workers are relatives, pastors, doctors and health agencies, schools, employers (past and present), previous residences and neighborhoods, and records. As a part of the first interview, the endeavor should be made to secure the necessary clues to these outside sources, but the search for them should not terminate at this time.

About three years ago, the writer came into contact with a family consisting of a mother and three small children, to which a social agency, after a brief but fruitless search for relatives, had decided to contribute a weekly allowance. After the mother had been receiving the allowance for a year and a half, the agency learned accidentally through a former neighbor that she had recently inherited quite a large sum of money from one of her brothers. The woman had continued to be the beneficiary of the agency's charity for three months after she had received the legacy. The record in this case contained many illustrations of faulty family social work.

The agency failed to make a complete canvass of relatives and of former neighborhoods. It was only after some questions had been raised in regard to the woman's attendance at Church that her marriage record was looked up. When it was found that there was no record of her marriage in the Church in which she claimed to have been married, she admitted that she was married by a justice of the peace. It was later found that, although her children were attending Church, they had never been baptized.

Relatives As Sources.—It is a well-recognized principle of social case work that it is a poor policy to deal with families over any long period of time without communicating with their relatives. Families coming to social agencies for care often object to such communications. They do not want relatives to know about their present predicament; they feel that if they can only have some temporary assistance, they can easily take care of themselves in the future. Sometimes they say that their relatives are too poor to assist them.

Social workers are not entirely free from blame in regard to the attitude of clients toward their relatives. The social worker's relations with relatives are frequently influenced to an undue degree by financial considerations. Appeal is made to relatives because their assistance is wanted in the relief program. The worker must recognize that, in his dealings with his clients' relatives, he has many opportunities of reestablishing old family ties, of recalling to families the ideals that inspired them in their better days. The families which are in trouble oftentimes have drifted away from their own kinsfolk. It may be that their relatives, after many vain endeavors, have given up all hope for them. Social workers, therefore, have the problem of changing not only the attitude of their clients, but also that of their relatives.

In dealing with relatives, the worker must be on the lookout for their prejudices. The man's relatives are liable to be prejudiced in his favor; the wife's, in her favor. These prejudices can usually be discounted by a careful canvass

of the relatives on both sides of the house. It is unusual for everyone on both sides to take a prejudiced and one-sided view of the situation. One of the striking revelations of actual work with families is the extent to which relatives on both sides agree in their diagnosis of family difficulties.

While as a general rule it is inadvisable to plan for families without communicating with the relatives, there are, as Miss Richmond puts it, certain exceptional circumstances in which the looking-up of relatives may do more harm than good. When we know from other sources that the character of our clients is above reproach and that we are fully justified in accepting their statements, we should not communicate with their relatives without securing their permission.

The writer's attention was recently called to a family that applied to a social agency for a small loan to aid in the payment of rent. The chief breadwinner had been ill for two months and the expenses of the family had been unduly heavy. The family asked especially that the relatives, who were rather prominent in the city, should not be communicated with. After an interview with two business men who had known the family for a long time, it was decided to advance the loan, and the family promptly repaid it in a period of two months.

The relations between the social case worker and the unmarried mother are of a peculiarly confidential character. The worker should endeavor to secure the unmarried mother's consent to communicate with some member of her family. It will be possible, in most cases, to find someone in the family who will take a sympathetic attitude toward her, and who will be willing to assist her in her plans. The case worker should also endeavor to secure her permission to confer with the putative father of her child. All who have had experience in dealing with the unmarried-mother problem recognize the value of informal conferences as a means of getting putative fathers to recognize their responsibility. If the unmarried mother is unwilling to give her consent, the worker should

not feel free to communicate with any of her relatives or with the putative father of her child.

The Church As a Source.—The social worker looks to the Church for insight into and coöperation in dealing with the spiritual problems of clients. It should be unnecessary to emphasize the fact that we cannot plan intelligently for any individual or family without reckoning with its spiritual life. Our great purpose in this life is to model our lives according to God's law as revealed in our hearts, as taught us by His only Son, Jesus Christ, and as interpreted for us by the Church. Any plan of life which does not reckon with the divine image in us, with God's law and our eternal destiny, is certainly most incomplete. It overlooks the very basic principles that should govern all human activities. For the Christian, all his duties have a definite relation to and really grow out of his basic plan of life. This relationship need not always be a conscious relationship. He may perform many of his duties as a result of definite and fixed habits. It is when these duties become irksome and he is tempted to depart from them that the driving forces arising out of his basic plan of life begin to have their effect.

We counsel the case worker against forming legal or medical judgments. We assume that his opinions in matters of law and medicine should be based on the expert advice of the lawyer and the physician. Should we not issue the same warning against judgments in matters of religion, unsupported by expert counsel? Are we not too much inclined to assume that the diagnosis and treatment of religious problems is something for which no special training is needed? Yet what could be more difficult than the understanding of the secret inner motives of human behavior, than the getting of people to unburden their souls, to tell of the temptations that make it difficult for them to live up to their ideals.

It is a relatively simple matter to understand the outward symptoms of religious problems. The Catholic worker, in dealing with Catholic clients, will look naturally to certain re-

ligious practices as fairly reliable indications of the religious standards of the individual or family. The Catholic worker will endeavor to find out if the members of the family attend Mass and receive the Sacraments regularly, if they participate in parish activities, if the parents have an intelligent appreciation of the truths of their religion, if the children are receiving proper religious instruction, if the parents are interested in the religious training of their children, if the children have been baptized and confirmed, if the parents have been married in the Church, and if they send their children to Catholic schools. The Catholic worker, moreover, will try to find out how far the family is endeavoring to make a concrete application of the teachings of religion in the home, and in its social relationships generally. The case worker will normally secure his information in regard to the religious standards of the family in the course of his visit to the home and from his contacts with the pastor. In many cases, it will be necessary for him to secure information from pastors regarding church records of marriage and baptism. It will not be necessary to look for baptismal and marriage records in all cases, but there is room for a more general use of them than is made at the present time. In all cases in which there is serious doubt about the religious standards of the family, it is well to look up the baptismal records of the children and the marriage records of parents. It is a useful precaution to look up marriage records in all cases of mixed marriages.

Failure of the members of the family to live up to the teachings of their religion is usually a symptom of deeper and more fundamental religious difficulties. It is sometimes due to habits of carelessness and indifference which are the product of long years of growth. In certain types of continuous occupations, it is impossible for workers to attend Mass on Sunday, and, as a result, they may become careless about attending. Carelessness on the part of the head of the family in regard to his religious duties may be due to mar-

riage outside the Church or to vicious habits which he has acquired. A person who has been married outside the Church may readily conclude that there is a certain inconsistency in his trying to fulfil other obligations so long as he has failed to abide by the law of the Church in regard to marriage. The same will be true of the person who is constantly gratifying some vicious habit. The practice of religion is a constant reminder of their sins to those who have failed in any of its essentials. While they continue in the ways of sin, they endeavor to drive the thought of religion from their minds.

There is always a question as to how far the social worker should go in the diagnosis and treatment of religious problems. He should aid pastors of souls in bringing to their attention such symptoms of religious indifference as present themselves to him. He should help in every way possible in enabling the pastor to get a complete understanding of the problems. He should place all his knowledge and his resources at the disposal of the pastor in carrying out a plan of treatment.

The study and care of the religious needs of his people is the fundamental responsibility of the pastor. It is really an integral part of his divine ministry. He may delegate part of his work to others; he may call on other professions in order to supplement his work and in order to remove the obstacles in the way of his teaching. In the last analysis, however, he is responsible for the sympathetic understanding of the religious problems of the people committed to his charge. He is responsible for interpreting their difficulties in the light of Christ's teaching. It is his sacred obligation to set before each individual a Christian plan of life. He is not supposed to wait until the careless and indifferent ones of his flock come to him—he must go out and seek the lost sheep and bring them back into the fold.

Employers As Sources.—Social case workers find it necessary to be exceedingly careful in dealing with a man's present employer. There is a danger that the knowledge of his

contact with an agency may prejudice the employer against him and interfere with his opportunities for advancement. If the worker is sure of sympathetic understanding and cooperation from the present employer, he may feel fully justified in approaching him. All workers who have had experience in dealing with families can no doubt call to mind instances in which present employers have been most helpful in providing better paying positions for their clients or in getting them to turn a larger share of their wages over to their families.

In all cases in which the chief breadwinner of the family presents any serious problem it is well to get in touch with his former employers. The man under whom he has worked for any length of time can help the case worker get a clearer understanding of the problems of the client. Of course, if he has been a member of a very large gang or has worked in a particular factory or workshop for a very short time, a former employer may know very little about him. If the worker succeeds in securing the interest of the employer, he may help not only by giving information, but also by reemploying the man. In no instance can the worker afford to plan for the future employment of a client without communicating with his former employers. He cannot understand the vocational possibilities of the client until he has made a complete study of his employment record. Much of the hit-or-miss placement work done by social agencies and employment exchanges is due to their failure to study the employment records of their clients. In studying such records, the possible trade-union affiliations must not be overlooked. Trade-unionism is a great and powerful force for good in the lives of American wage-earners, and the social case worker must not fail to take advantage of it. Many times the client's position can be improved very greatly by helping him to take out membership in the union.

Neighborhood Sources.—Neighborhood sources, if skilfully used, will clear up a great many questions in the mind of the

social worker in regard to his clients. Neighborhood opinion is a fairly reliable evaluator of the standards of family life. If a family has lived in a certain neighborhood for some length of time, there are usually persons in that neighborhood who know considerable about it. The best source of neighborhood information is not necessarily the person who lives in the adjoining house or on the same floor of the apartment. The shoemaker or the grocer around the corner frequently knows much more about the family than do those who live next door. In dealing with a client, the writer once had occasion to return to a neighborhood from which the family had recently moved. The family consisted of a mother, three grown boys, and a number of boarders. Among the boarders was a man with two young children who had recently been separated from his wife. This man was "keeping company" with a young girl who lived in the house and was supposed to be assisting the mother with the housekeeping. After making a number of fruitless efforts to have the young woman return to her own home, or to have the man make other arrangements for himself and his children, the writer decided to visit the neighborhood from which the family had recently moved. The address with which he had been provided brought him to an old apartment house. Only two of the ten apartments in the house were occupied. The writer tried, in a rather casual way, to find out if either of the families in the apartments knew about the family in which he was interested. He began by asking questions as to when the family had moved, and learned that this former neighbor knew very little about the family in question. He was supplied with a clue to a very fruitful source of information—the grocer on the same street. Beginning with a casual question, he secured from the grocer practically all the information that was needed. The grocer told among other things how much he pitied the two children who were being brought up in such immoral surroundings. He informed the writer that it was a matter of general knowledge that the father

of the children was living with the young girl and had stated rather openly that he expected to marry her as soon as he secured his divorce.

Social case workers frequently assume that former neighborhoods are usually superior to present neighborhoods as sources of information. Generally speaking, the assumption is correct. In contacts with present neighbors, the appearance of securing information must be avoided. If the worker knows the neighborhood well, he can learn much without asking a single question.

For practical purposes, landlords, both past and present, may be classed under the head of neighborhood sources. For the social case worker, the landlord is ever-present. He frequently looks to the worker for rent or for aid in getting the family out of his house so that he may secure a better paying tenant. The writer knew of one landlord who offered to pay two months' rent for a family, provided the worker could get it to vacate his house. The ordinary social worker finds that landlords are not so black as they are painted, particularly if they can be appealed to directly. The case worker is ever appealing to the landlord for stays in the payment of rent, for reductions of rent, and for improvements in the homes of tenants. A case worker in a family agency reports that when she goes to a landlord to rent a house for one of her clients, she always makes a point of checking up on the other families under her care who may be renting or have rented from the same landlord in the past. This worker gives an interesting illustration of the value of information furnished by a landlord who lived in the same apartment with one of her clients. A young girl eighteen years of age married a man thirty years her senior. After a short time, she began to quarrel with him. The man became desperate and took to drink. Later he stole a barrel of sugar from a grocery store in which he was employed. He was caught in the act, convicted, and given six months in jail. During his absence, a young man of twenty-four became

interested in the wife. After a short acquaintanceship, they decided that they would get married as soon as the woman could secure a divorce. From an interview with the landlord, the worker learned that this was not the only young man in whom the woman was interested. The landlord's information was no surprise to the worker.

Medical Sources.—As social agencies have discovered that ill health plays such a large part in the lives of the families under their care, they have come to pay more attention to health problems. This has meant a closer interrelationship between social work and medicine. It has meant a more extensive use on the part of social workers of physicians, hospitals, dispensaries, and nursing agencies. The social case worker's use of medical sources has been facilitated by the increasing appreciation on the part of physicians of the contribution that social work makes to the welfare of their clients. The majority of physicians no longer look upon social workers as intruders or meddlers. The social worker must, however, still reckon with a large number of physicians who do not appreciate his services. They feel that he has nothing of value to contribute to family welfare. These physicians will not assist the social worker by giving any medical information in regard to their clients.

A social worker with long experience in dealing with families states that she has encountered three important difficulties in dealing with physicians. First, there was the unsocial attitude of a number of physicians. She believes that this number is becoming smaller every year. Second, there was the unwillingness of the physician to give a diagnosis or prognosis due to the fact that he did not have sufficient information in regard to a patient. Third, she found many physicians so busy that she had difficulty in talking over with them in a leisurely way the problems of her clients.

Miss Richmond gives some very sane advice about dealing with physicians and other medical sources which case workers cannot afford to overlook. She warns them to beware of mak-

ing medical diagnoses. These are not within the province of the case worker and will be resented by the physician. She advises them against second-hand medical sources. They should not accept what the client says about the physician's diagnosis. They should go directly to the physician himself.

Miss Richmond further emphasizes the necessity of securing a recent medical diagnosis. A diagnosis that is a year old may be of very little value as conditions may have changed very greatly within that time.

At present, the case worker finds very little difficulty in securing the coöperation of the well-organized hospitals. In recent years hospitals have improved their medical records very greatly. It is, therefore, much easier for the case worker to secure medical diagnoses from them. When a hospital is equipped with a medical social service department the task of the case worker is simplified. The medical social service department will naturally have a particular interest in the work which other social agencies may be doing for its patients. It recognizes the other social agencies of the community as useful allies in making the work of the hospital more efficient.

The case worker should aim, whenever it is possible, to secure a written diagnosis from the physician or hospital. A written diagnosis precludes the possibility of misunderstanding. It is rather easy to secure one from a hospital that is equipped with a social service department. It is rather difficult to secure one from the ordinary private physician. A written diagnosis, however, Miss Richmond emphasizes, is no substitute for a personal interview with the doctor. The personal interview will supply many items of information which would otherwise be lacking.

Schools As Sources.—It is impossible to do really constructive family welfare work without reference to the educational status of the children. The education of the children gives a fairly good index of the character of the family life. An education that develops the child physically, mentally, and

spiritually is his best guarantee against the hazards that confront him in life. In the study and treatment of families under their care, social case workers, therefore, are devoting more and more attention to the educational status of the children. This necessarily means close coöperative relationships with the school. It means a recognition on the part of social workers of the contribution which the school is capable of making to their work, and also a recognition on the part of the teacher of the value of the services of the case worker.

Social workers with whom we have discussed the matter feel that there is still much room for improvement in their use of the schools. They feel the need of establishing contacts with the schools in all families with children of school age. On account of pressure of work, most of them have not yet been able to attain this ideal, and in practice confine their use of the schools to cases of children involving special problems.

Many times teachers can give more information about children than their own parents. A boy of ten who had been playing truant was referred by a school attendance department to a children's protective agency. From the boy's mother it was learned that he was playing around with a gang of older boys. From the boy's teacher the case worker learned that he was repeating the third grade; that the boy was up to the average in intelligence, but had been playing truant for two years. The teacher also stated that the boy had developed vicious sex habits and was having a bad influence on the other children in the school. It was discovered later that the boy had learned his sex habits from the older boys with whom he was associating. The suggestions made by the teachers were very helpful in working out a program for the boy.

In this case, the teacher supplied information in regard to the child's grade in school, his progress in school work during a period of two years, and his relations with other children in the school and on the playground. She had tried, to

the best of her ability, to interest him in his school work, but without definite results. She felt that the mother had not coöperated as well as she should in her plans for the boy. She was willing to give the boy another trial, but felt that there was very little hope for any definite improvement without a complete change of environment.

Most school principals at the present time are ready and willing to coöperate in the plans of the social worker. They recognize that the social worker is endeavoring to remove the obstacles in the way of the child's educational advancement. Many times they have struggled with the problems of the child long before he was called to the attention of the social agency, and they are glad to have another person contribute to the solution of these problems. Social workers, however, must be on their guard against interrupting teachers during their class hours. When it is necessary for them to interview teachers, they should do so during recess or after the close of school.

A certain probation department has adopted the rule of securing information from the school by written communication addressed to the principal. The probation officers generally believe that this system does not bring satisfactory results. The educators are unwilling to commit themselves in writing. They feel that their statements may be questioned in court. Sometimes teachers have come to the court and given the probation officers orally the information they were unwilling to give in a written questionnaire.

The case worker secures information from the school through the principal and through the child's teacher. From the principal, the worker can secure the child's school record and also information about the other children in the family. From the individual teacher, the case worker can get a first-hand view of the child's progress in school, his deportment in class, evidences of home training, relations with other children in the class-room and on the playground, and the general interests of the child.

Documentary Sources.—The use of documentary evidence is an essential part of the technique of social investigation. There are certain obvious facts about clients which are a matter of written record. There are written records of birth, death, baptism, marriage, property, immigration, naturalization, and very frequently of conduct. In another section of this chapter, reference has been made to the use of baptismal and marriage records.

In the enforcement of child-labor and compulsory school legislation in dealing with children in the juvenile court, the verification of the birth records of children is most essential. It is sometimes very difficult to secure the certificates of birth of children born in foreign countries. When the birth certificate cannot be secured, we must satisfy ourselves with baptismal certificates, passports of parents, or immigration manifests.

The case worker sometimes finds it necessary to verify death records. The discovery of the cause of death of a parent may give a very useful clue to the history of disease in the family. In the adjustment of marriage cases, it will sometimes be necessary to verify the death of a former husband or wife.

We have heard of social agencies paying rent to bogus landlords because they failed to look up the property records of the clients whom they were assisting. In the course of his own work the writer has come into contact with families which have had no title to the homes for which they were paying. He can recall one family that had purchased a home without obtaining any legal title to it. The head of the family was not aware of the fact until a person who held a mortgage against the property took steps to sell it in order to recover his money. In order to save his home, the present owner was compelled to pay the mortgage. Everyone who has had any experience with property transactions can recall instances in which property owners have failed to have liens against their property properly recorded and released. In most cities, the case worker should experience little dif-

ficulty in looking up records of real property. Our various units of government have been much more solicitous about property records than about the records of human beings.

There seems to be a difference of opinion in regard to the use of the records of bank deposits in social case work. It is not possible for the ordinary private agency to inspect bank accounts without the written permission of the depositors. Some social agencies are loath to ask their clients' permission to inspect their bank accounts. Others have found the inspection of bank accounts very necessary in their work. A worker in one of these agencies tells of an interesting experience she had in endeavoring to inspect the bank account of a client. The mother of a family had come to the office to ask for assistance, stating that her husband was out of work and that her family was in need. The worker, following her usual custom, asked the woman to sign a form letter giving her permission to look up her bank account. She explained to her that the society had adopted this policy as a guarantee of the good faith of their clients. When the worker went to a neighborhood bank on the same afternoon, she learned that the client had just drawn out the sum of \$700.

Case workers find it necessary to consult insurance companies in order to ascertain how much insurance the family may have received on the death of one of its members. There is also the possibility that the family may be carrying more life insurance than it can really afford. There is the further possibility that insurance may have lapsed by reason of the failure of the family to meet the premiums. In this situation, the worker may have the policy restored by paying back premiums, or he may secure a cash payment for the client.

In dealing with foreign-born clients, the case worker will sometimes find the records of the office of the Commissioner-General of Immigration at Washington most helpful. These records give the age of the immigrant, his address, the name and address of the relative whom he expected to join in this country, the date of his arrival in this country, and the

amount of money he had in his possession on arrival. In order to secure this information, the worker should have the person's name, his nationality, date and port of arrival, and the name of the ship on which he came. Difficulties sometimes arise in this matter by reason of difference in spelling between the name as given to the worker and the name in the immigration records. Some workers avoid this difficulty by securing and forwarding to the immigration office the names of persons who may have come over on the same ship with the client.

During the past few years it has become increasingly easy to secure information about foreign-born clients from their own home communities. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has correspondents in nearly every country in Europe. Through these correspondents, the Welfare Conference is able to assist Catholic organizations by securing information in regard to home conditions of foreign-born persons. This service is particularly valuable when an agency is making arrangements to have immigrants returned to their own countries.

Generally speaking, social workers do not make use of the police force as much or as effectively as they should. The police have a great amount of information about neighborhood conditions that is most valuable in case work. This information will give the social worker a clearer understanding of the forces that are militating against his efforts. The police are acquainted with the neighborhood gangs; they know about the pool-halls and dance-halls of the neighborhood. They can also be helpful in securing information about the families under care. If the members of these families have ever been in trouble, the police will have valuable information in regard to them. If the worker is doubtful about the moral standards of any family, if he fears that the family is no longer providing a proper home for the children, the policeman can be very helpful in clearing up his doubts.

Relief Administration on a Budgetary Basis.—Earlier in

this chapter, reference was made to the fact that the case worker as a part of his plan for the family under his care administers relief on a budget basis, and that his study of the material needs of the family is not simply a matter of guesswork. Every well-organized social agency dealing with the family uses a standard budget in the administration of relief. A number of agencies have coöperated in formulating budgets for their cities. If no budget has been formulated for a particular city, the agencies may use a budget from another city, modified so as to reckon with material differences in prices. The budget used by the social agency is based on the number of food calories necessary to maintain persons of different ages. By a study of the prices of different articles of food in the local market it is possible to translate this food allowance into dollars and cents. The family budget must also reckon with rent, fuel, clothing, insurance, and such other necessities as carfare and replacement of household furniture. The relief budget of the family agency is merely a minimum of subsistence budget. It provides the family with those things that are essential to its physical well-being; to give the family less would be a very poor social policy. It would mean a permanent undermining of the health of the family. It would mean undernourishment for the children, making them an easy prey of tuberculosis and other diseases.

Social Case Records.—In order to render effective service, the agency dealing with families must keep a careful record of its investigations and its plans. Without such a record, many of the essential needs of the family are liable to be overlooked. The record saves the family from the irritation of having to review its life history when the workers in an organization change, or when its needs recur at some future date. Records help the worker to think more clearly about the family's needs. The supervisor of an organization depends in large measure on records to aid him in developing in his workers habits of clear thinking and systematic pro-

cedure. It is only on the basis of recorded information in regard to its families that an agency can profit by its mistakes and test the policies it has adopted. Records are essential for the interpretation of social work to the public. Moreover, records in regard to insufficient income, poor health conditions, and lack of recreational facilities contain information that is most helpful in bringing about necessary social legislation.

The case record of the family agency is divided into two parts. The first part consists of record forms that give exact information. The second part of the record is devoted to a detailed analysis of the family's difficulties, its present status, and its history. This means an enlargement and interpretation of the information contained in the record forms which are necessary to give the worker a sufficient insight into the processes of family life to enable him to assist the family intelligently.

The record forms give a general picture of the family and supply information necessary in the daily routine of work and in the compiling of reports.

The family agency finds it necessary to use the following record forms: first, an interviewer's blank which is made out at the time of the person's first contact with the office and which contains sufficient information to identify the case in the agency's own file and to clear with the confidential exchange; second, the index card, which gives the full names of the heads of the family, date of application, and file number; third, the visitor's day sheet, which should be of note-book size, perforated for loose-leaf arrangement, providing space for the name of the family, visits, telephone calls, and letters, and serving as a help to the visitor in organizing and planning work and in making out reports; fourth, a face sheet which should provide for information necessary to give the worker a general view of the outstanding facts in the life of the family, such as the names of the parents, nationality, religion, social state, address, pre-

vious addresses, name of the landlord, amount of rent, names of children, their dates of birth, their school grades, date and place of marriage of parents, baptism of children, First Communion and Confirmation, employment of father, earning capacity, previous employment, other members of family, names and addresses of relatives, and contacts with other agencies; fifth, the budget sheet, which should be computed from a standard budget and should call for information concerning the income and the expenditures of the family; sixth, the expense sheet, which should contain a statement of all the money expended by the agency for the family and also money secured for the family from other sources; seventh, a statistical card, which is a mechanical device to enable the worker to measure problems presented by the families under care and the service rendered to these families. The worker must depend very largely on this card for the making out of monthly and annual reports.

In addition to its record forms, the agency must have a chronological history of its dealings with the family. The chronological history must give a detailed review of all the information that the agency has secured through its contact with the family and from outside sources in general. It must give the worker a fairly complete picture of the family's history and its present difficulties. It must describe the agency's plan for the family. It must review the agency's experience in putting its plan into effect.

Development of Social Case Work.—From its very beginning, the care of families in need has been a matter of vital concern to the Church. In the early Church, the care of the poor was the special work of the deacons. A great many of the religious communities founded at a later date were inspired by the ideals of special service to those in need. Their founders and members separated themselves from the world so that they might give themselves the more unreservedly to the service of their fellow-beings. In the seventeenth century, St. Vincent de Paul established a lay society

known as the Ladies of Charity, to visit the sick and the poor in their own homes. In 1634 he established the Daughters of Charity to aid his volunteers in their work and to perform certain services to which the volunteers were unequal. St. Vincent de Paul recognized that charity work had to be done in an organized way. In his letters and conferences, he constantly reminded both the Ladies of Charity and the Daughters of Charity of the necessity of studying carefully the families under their care and also of keeping a careful record of their services.

When Frederick Ozanam established the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris in 1833, he was really endeavoring to reduce to concrete form some of the fundamental principles of Christian teaching. He wanted man's love of his fellow-man to assume the form of an organized lay apostolate. For him service was something that concerned every Christian. It was an essential part of the Christian life. It was something in which every lay person should participate.

Ozanam's teaching and the society he established have had a wide influence in modern family-service programs. The Charity Organization Society, established in London in 1869, derived many of its principles and policies from the work of Frederick Ozanam.

Both the Charity Organization Society and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul have exercised great influence in the development of social work for families in the United States. The first city-wide Charity Organization Society in the United States was established in Buffalo in 1876. The first St. Vincent de Paul Conference in this country was established in St. Louis in 1844. Since these two societies play such a prominent part in the family work of all the large cities in this country, it is important for the student of social work to have some understanding of their methods and policies. In many of the larger cities the work of the St. Vincent de

Paul Society is now supplemented by diocesan organizations of Catholic Charities.

The Charity Organization Society, as its name implies, was simply a means of organizing the charitable resources of the community. When it was first established in the United States, there was a great variety of organizations engaged in giving material relief. Practically no effort was made to study families in need. Many times families received aid from several sources. The various branches of the Charity Organization Society, from the very beginning, emphasized the need of careful study of each case. They emphasized the development of family responsibility and a fuller and more intelligent use of the existing community resources. In the beginning the various local branches did not have any thought of becoming relief-giving societies. They believed that they could secure all the relief that was necessary from existing agencies. As the material relief load increased, it was not possible to continue this policy in most cities. The Charity Organization Societies were, therefore, compelled to maintain relief budgets.

The Charity Organization Society was really the pioneer in the development of trained service for social case work in the United States. It has been interested in the training not only of full-time paid workers, but also of volunteers. In the volunteers it recognized a special challenge to its resourcefulness. It therefore endeavored to give them a broader understanding of their opportunities and to widen the circle of persons doing volunteer work.

The first charity organizations stressed the economic aspects of social work. Social case work was for them a matter of income, insufficient income or no income at all. They did not visualize the complex relations between income and the other problems of family life such as health, mentality, attitudes of various members toward life's responsibilities, and religious training and practices. In the nineties of the last

century, the charity organization workers began to pay increasing attention to health. As a result of their own experience and of studies made by other agencies, they recognized that ill health was the largest single factor in family dependency. In recent years charity organization workers, with other social case workers, have been availing themselves of the recent findings of psychology and psychiatry in their work with families. They have come to reckon not only with the physical, but also with the mental health of those under their care.

The best charity organization societies look to religion as a great asset in dealing with their families. They are anxious to do everything possible to bring families into closer contact with their Church. They see the great difficulty of planning for a family without reference to religion.

The various local branches of the Charity Organization Society do not have any uniform name. They are variously known as Associated Charities, Society for Organizing Charity, Family Service Society, Family Welfare Society, and Social Service League. In recent times there has been a marked tendency in the movement to substitute family welfare or family service for charity. An increasing number of local branches of the society are, therefore, known as Family Welfare or Family Service Societies.

Practically all the local charity organization societies take care of Catholic cases. Where Catholic agencies have been established, there is usually a definite understanding between them and charity organization societies in regard to a division of labor in Catholic cases. In order that they may be prepared to reckon with Catholic needs, the societies employ Catholic workers and have Catholic members on their boards.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. How far is case work a part of the regular work of the priest?
2. Should a social case worker communicate with relatives without obtaining the consent of the family under care?

3. What are the specific religious problems in which a social worker should be interested in dealing with families? What are some of the motives that might be used in changing the attitudes of families toward their religious responsibilities?

4. What are the definite pitfalls to be avoided in giving material relief?

5. How many families were cared for by the family welfare societies of your city during the past year? How many of the families cared for presented problems of material relief? What were the other outstanding problems presented by families under care?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BYINGTON, MARGARET, *What a Social Worker Should Know about Her Own Community* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1924).

COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, *A Suggested Budget for Families* (1925).

DE SCHWEINITZ, KARL, *The Art of Helping People out of Trouble* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924).

LEE, PORTER R., "The Culture of Family Life," National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1914.

NESBITT, FLORENCE, *Household Management* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1918).

"Food for the Family," Publication No. 120, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (1922).

RICHMOND, MARY E., *Social Diagnosis* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917).

—*What is Social Case Work?* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922).

SEARS, AMELIA, *The Charity Visitor* (Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 1923).

SHEFFIELD, MRS. ADA E., *The Social Case History* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1920).

Concerning Parents (symposium) (New Republic, Inc., New York, 1926).

The Philadelphia Relief Study (A Study of the Family Relief Needs and Resources of Philadelphia) (Committee on the Philadelphia Relief Study, 1926).

CHAPTER V

THE DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILD

The normal family, working through the ordinary community agencies, should be able to provide for the fundamental needs of childhood. It should be able to provide for the child's physical, religious, and educational development. We find, however, in every community a large number of families that do not measure up to normal standards. We find families that do not have a proper understanding of the duties and responsibilities of child-care and training. They pay little or no attention to the health of their children. They permit the children to grow up with remediable physical defects. We find parents who, by reason of insufficient income or by reason of the fact that their income has been cut off by sickness or other forms of industrial hazard, are unable to provide for the needs of their children. On the other hand, we find parents who by reason of wilful neglect or ignorance are unable to provide proper care for their children.

Children Needing Special Care.—The children who cannot be cared for through their own homes and the normal agencies of society are usually divided into four classes, namely, dependent, neglected, delinquent, and defective. A dependent child is one "who, through no neglect on the part of its parent, guardian or custodian, is destitute or homeless or in a state of want or suffering due to lack of sufficient food, clothing or shelter." A neglected child is one "who is without proper guardianship or whose parent, guardian or the person with whom the child lives, by reason of cruelty, mental incapacity, immorality or depravity, is unfit to properly

care for such child, or who is in unlawful or improper care or custody or restrained by any person . . . agency . . . or institution, or whose parent, guardian or custodian neglects or refuses when able to do so, to provide necessary medical, surgical, institutional or hospital care for such child, or who engages in any occupation, for engaging in which an adult may be punished by law, or who is found in any place for permitting the existence of which an adult may be punished by law or who is in such condition of want or suffering and under such improper guardianship or control as to injure the morals or health of himself or others." A delinquent child is one "who violates any law of this state or of the United States or any municipal ordinance, or who commits any act which if committed by an adult would be a crime, not punishable by death or life imprisonment, or who is incorrigible or ungovernable, or habitually disobedient and beyond the control of parents, custodians or other lawful authority, or who is habitually truant, or who, without just cause, or without the consent of his parent, guardian or other custodian, repeatedly deserts his home or place of abode, who knowingly engages in any occupation which is in violation of law or who keeps company with immoral or vicious persons, or who frequents any place, the existence of which is in violation of law, or who habitually uses obscene or profane language or who so deports himself as to wilfully injure the morals or health of himself or others." ¹

The Dependent Child.—These definitions, taken from the New York Statutes, are about as clear and comprehensive as anything we can find, but we must not infer from them that the three types of children are always clearly marked off one from the other. The clearest illustration of a dependent child is the full orphan, or the child who has been deprived of both parents by death. The orphan must look to older

¹ *Second Report of the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare* (J. B. Lyon Co., Albany, 1923), II, 338-339.

brothers and sisters, relatives, or charitable organizations for the care which he should normally receive from his own parents. An orphaned child becomes a neglected child when the persons or agencies responsible for his care do not provide the proper type of care.

Another example of child dependency is the condition of the child in a family deprived of its chief breadwinner by premature death. Many times left without any savings, the mother must assume the entire family responsibility. If she has several children depending on her, the task is certainly most trying. No matter what plan of care she adopts for her children, she must, in many instances, have outside assistance. If, as is preferable, she decides to keep her family together, she may have to appeal to a charitable organization. If she decides to place her children in care of a child-placing agency she will not always be able to pay for them in full.

Many persons assume that the children cared for by children's homes are very largely, if not entirely, full orphans. This impression is frequently conveyed by the type of appeal made in behalf of these homes. The picture of the poor orphan without father or mother usually stands out very prominently in appeals for children's charities. The same impression is conveyed by means of the name *orphan asylum*, which is the name still used by most of the children's homes. From studies of the population of Catholic child-caring homes, it has been found that not more than 10 per cent of their population consists of full orphans.

The social worker frequently comes into contact with families in which one of the parents is ill and the other is unable to shoulder the responsibilities of caring for the children. If the father is ill, the income of the family is usually cut off. If there are no savings, the family will need outside assistance in bearing its responsibilities. When the mother is taken sick, the problem becomes still more difficult. The ordinary man is rather helpless in dealing with domestic problems. If he cannot have his children cared for by rela-

tives during the illness of their mother, he must turn them over to some children's home or agency.

Family B consists of father, mother, and eight children. For a number of years the father turned over only a very small part of his wages to the family: the remainder he spent in gambling. Through the influence of a social agency, he was induced to change his attitude. In the meantime the mother became ill. Her case was diagnosed as incipient tuberculosis. The social agency decided to break up the family temporarily, placing the mother in a sanatorium and the children in boarding homes. This case is an illustration of child dependency brought about by the illness of the mother. The children, however, were not entirely dependent, since the father was able to pay about two-thirds of the cost of maintaining them.

Another illustration of a dependent child is one whose parents by reason of insufficient income, sickness, or other industrial hazard are unable to care for him.

Family U consists of father, mother, and six children, ranging between the ages of two and twelve. The father has been earning sixty dollars a month. The family lives in one room. All the children are undernourished and two have incipient tuberculosis. This is a clear case of a family which, by reason of insufficient income, is unable to care properly for its children.

The Neglected Child.—Neglected childhood really means neglected parental responsibility, and this neglected responsibility may take as many forms as the needs of childhood. It is confined to no particular rank or station of life. Neglect of children is found among the rich as well as among the poor. That we do not have so much serious neglect of childhood among the rich as among the poor is probably due to the superior economic position of the former and to the larger opportunities for education and recreation which they can provide for their children. Their superior position makes the neglect of children by the wealthy all the more reprehensible. Their wealth gives them a position of leadership

which enables them to exercise a powerful influence for good or evil over the lives of others. We must recognize that our standards of child-care and training are determined not so much by what we are taught as by the conduct and behavior of others, and particularly of those who are looked upon as the leaders of the community. When those who are supposed to hold a position of leadership overindulge their children, when they give them too much freedom and permit them to grow up without any consciousness of responsibility, they are setting a standard which is bound to have a very unwholesome influence on the community as a whole.

The social worker is not in a position to make any direct contribution toward remedying neglect of children among the wealthy. If those in the upper economic strata of society are to be reached at all, it must be through the agencies of the Church and the school. The methods which social work has found effective in dealing with the poor and the handicapped will, undoubtedly, be helpful to the normal agencies of the community in their work. Not only will the normal institutions of the community take over the methods of social work in dealing with children, but they will also in time take over most of the work at present done by child-caring agencies. The immediate concern of the social worker who deals with neglected children, however, is not the taking-over of his work and his methods by some other agency ten years from now. He is concerned rather with the working-out of definite and specific plans for the children who are brought to his attention day by day.

Types of Neglected Children.—If you ask the ordinary social worker to essay the apparently simple task of classifying the neglected children who come to his attention, he will find it rather difficult. He may begin by telling you of some cases of serious cruelty, because they have made the most vivid impression on him.

The writer recently came in contact with a boy twelve years old who had been cruelly beaten by his stepmother on

several occasions over a period of two years. This treatment had made such a deep impression on the boy that he frequently wakened suddenly from his sleep, burst into loud crying, and asked his stepmother to have mercy on him. Far more frequent than cases of cruelty are those of laxity and indifference in dealing with children. We find parents who permit their children to do as they please. They do not develop any program for the training of their children. A case in point was that of a family consisting of father, mother, and three children, ranging between the ages of four and seven. The father was so occupied with his business that he had very little time for the family. The mother was a concert singer and spent her days in rehearsals. All three children were exceedingly destructive in their habits, and showed every evidence of neglect. The first child and the second child were very rough in dealing with other children. Both were addicted to the use of coarse language, and lied on the slightest provocation. Here we have an example of neglected children in a home with high economic standards. If this were a poor family, it might have become a problem for the children's agency, but the father took matters in his own hands and decided to place the children in a high-class boarding school for small children.

Parental Coöperation and Child Training. The proper care and training of children requires the closest coöperation on the part of both parents. When the father and mother adopt different methods in dealing with children, there is very little hope that the children will get what they are entitled to from the home. When parents are continually quarreling, the respect of children for them is bound to be lowered. Children will not receive the highest ideals in a home where there are continuous and sharp disagreements between parents. If children are to have a proper attitude toward law and order, they must begin by respecting their own parents, and it is very difficult for children to respect parents who do not respect one another. The writer recently came in contact with

a very pathetic case of a family in which the father and mother were continually quarreling. Periodically they would agree to separate and place their two girls in an institution. On one occasion the older child was at great pains to explain how she had been trying to "get papa to be good." She stated that "papa had not been treating mama right, and we wanted him to do better."

When the family is broken by desertion or divorce, the children are placed at a serious disadvantage. The children of well-to-do broken families do not come to the attention of the charitable agency. They usually are provided with all the things necessary for their material well-being. While they do not suffer any serious material loss, they have to endure a spiritual privation that cannot be easily compensated for. The thought of one or both parents' being unfaithful to a sacred trust must certainly make a deep impression on them. This impression is further deepened by the conflict for the custody and the affections of the children which develops during divorce or non-support proceedings. In the case of poor families broken by desertion or divorce, one parent is frequently compelled to bear the entire responsibility, financial and otherwise, of caring for the children. When the children are left with the mother, there is, of course, the possibility of securing alimony or a non-support allowance from the father. It is easy to secure a court decree compelling a father to support his children, but it is not always easy to find a deserting father, and after he has been found, it is not always easy to get him to obey the order of the court. If he is of the shiftless type, he may not be able to hold a steady job, or he may go to another state in order to escape his responsibility. If the social agency finds a deserting husband has a very poor record, it may decide that it will expend very little effort in extraditing him from another state, or in prosecuting him. When a mother is given custody of the children in a divorce proceeding, the court will compel the

father to pay alimony, but, as in the case of the non-support allowance, it is not always easy to collect the alimony.

Children are especially sensitive to immoral influence. As a result of the influences to which they have been exposed, they frequently develop bad sexual habits long before they can distinguish between right and wrong. It takes long and careful training to break children of their early acquired sex habits, and to develop habits of self-control. The sex instinct many times acquires such an influence over the life of the child that it requires all the resources at our command to enable him to grow out of it and to develop a normal, healthy attitude toward life. Exposure to immoral influences is the most detrimental influence in child life, but it is the most difficult to discover and to remedy.

In the chapter on "The School As a Social Agency," the need of close coöperation between the school and the home in the education of the child is emphasized. The attitude of the child toward education will depend very largely on the parents. When we find large numbers of children leaving school and going to work prematurely, we can be sure that a large number of parents do not appreciate the advantages of education or the plague of premature work for their children. Premature labor means serious neglect of the needs of childhood. It stunts the physical growth of the child and prevents him from acquiring the education necessary for his mental and moral development.

Needs of Normal Childhood.—The child must have proper home influence. He must have a sufficient amount of food and clothing. He must have medical care and educational opportunities in order to develop his body and mind. More important than all of these is the development of the child's spiritual life. Every child has been created by God for a high and holy purpose. He intended that every child, no matter what his circumstances, should one day be united with Him in Heaven. He has placed little children in the hands of

parents and of the agencies which assist or take the place of parents, to mold and fashion them after a model that He has set. It is His plan that every child should be given the fullest opportunity for the development of the faculties He has given him, that everything possible should be done for the development of his body, mind, and soul. On one occasion in speaking to His apostles, Christ gave them the following impressive warning: "It is impossible that scandals should not come, but woe to him through whom they come. It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he cast into the sea than that he should scandalize one of these little ones."² On another occasion we are told "they brought young children to Him that He should touch them and His disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it He was much displeased and said unto them 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.'"³ From the foregoing statements we can see how dear the little children were to His heart, and how much He was displeased by those who would disfigure the beauty of the children's souls. He undoubtedly had in mind parents who, by their immoral and shiftless lives, lead their children along the same downward course, and He undoubtedly also had in mind parents who neglect to provide religious training for their children.

The Catholic Church has always attached the greatest importance to the religious training of the child. Her people are making the most heroic sacrifices for the building of schools in which the religious formation of their children will have an important place. All the work which the Catholic Church in this country is doing for dependent and neglected children is inspired by the same principle. Were it not for the importance that she attaches to the religious training of dependent and neglected children, the Church might as well

² *St. Luke* XVII. 1-2.

³ *St. Mark* X. 13-14.

turn this work over to the state or non-sectarian agencies. While the Church places greatest emphasis on the spiritual training of the children under her care, she does not neglect their mental and physical development. She realizes that she cannot do her full duty to the child without developing a complete human personality. The Church, therefore, makes every effort to profit by the best that science has to offer in the training and education of children.

Home Care for the Dependent and Neglected Child.—In dealing with dependent and neglected children, we should make every effort to care for them in their own homes. In the past, children's agencies and institutions have not realized sufficiently the importance of keeping children with their parents. This is still true of many agencies. They assume the responsibility for the care of children after the most superficial investigation, and sometimes without any investigation. Such a policy does not make any permanent contribution to the welfare of the child. It gives careless and indifferent parents an opportunity of shifting their God-given responsibilities. It deprives children of that affection and care which only their own homes can give. It is the custom of many institutions to return a child to his own parents after he has completed his thirteenth or fourteenth year. Without a careful investigation, one cannot tell whether or not the conditions which first necessitated the removal of the children still exist. In these circumstances the children may be exposed to influences which will undermine everything the institution has done for them.

It is a well-recognized principle of social work that children should not be removed from their own homes by reason of poverty alone. The attitude of American social workers toward this problem was clearly expressed in the resolutions of the White House Conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909. The report of the resolutions committee, which was unanimously adopted by the conference, stated that: "Chil-

dren of parents of worthy character suffering from temporary misfortune and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of children. This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general policy of each community preferably in the form of private charity rather than public relief.”⁴

This same attitude was reaffirmed in the resolutions passed by the Conferences on Child Welfare called by the United States Children’s Bureau in 1919. “Unless unusual conditions exist, the child’s welfare is best promoted by keeping him in his own home. No child should be permanently removed from his own home, unless it is impossible to reconstruct family conditions, or build and supplement family resources so as to make the home safe for the community. In case of removal, separation should not continue beyond the period of reconstruction.”⁵

Mothers’ Aid Legislation.—The White House Conference gave a great impetus to the movement for the care of children in their own homes. The resolutions of the conference indicated a decided preference for private rather than public relief as a means of preserving home life. There evidently was not at that time any premonition of the movement for public aid in their own homes to mothers with dependent children which was to sweep over the country a few years later. Beginning with the Illinois law of 1911, the mothers’ allowance movement has made more rapid progress in the United States than any other social reform movement, except possibly workmen’s compensation. At the beginning of 1926, a total of

⁴ “Foster Home Care for Dependent Children,” Publication No. 136, United States Department of Labor, Children’s Bureau, p. 197.

⁵ “Minimum Standards for Child Welfare Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919,” U. S. C. B. Publication No. 62, United States Department of Labor, Children’s Bureau.

forty-two of the forty-eight states had passed laws providing public aid for mothers with dependent children.⁶

The general purpose of mothers' allowance legislation is to enable mothers who have been deprived of the support of their husbands to care for their children in their own homes. In the early laws there was a tendency to confine public aid to widows with dependent children. The more recent laws, however, have extended aid to all mothers with dependent children, including widows; mothers whose husbands have deserted them; those whose husbands have been permanently incapacitated, whether physically or mentally; and those whose husbands have been confined to penal institutions.

Under most of the laws, the mother receives a specific allowance for each child. The allowance for the first child is usually larger than the allowance for additional children. Under the Montana law, for instance, a mother receives fifteen dollars a month for the first child, ten dollars for the second, and five dollars for any additional children after the second, up to fifty dollars. In many states, moreover, there is a maximum amount which cannot be exceeded in the case of any particular family. A few of the more recent laws (those of Rhode Island, Virginia, and the District of Columbia) have placed no limit on the amount of aid to be granted other than the needs of the particular family. In these states the amount is left entirely to the discretion of the agency charged with the administration of the law.

As a result of specific limitations set by the laws or the rulings of administrative agencies, the aid granted to mothers with dependent children is very frequently insufficient. A study of public aid to children in their own homes by Miss Florence Nesbitt published by the United States Children's Bureau in 1923 brings out a number of significant facts in regard to the insufficiency of the aid granted in certain ju-

⁶ Emma O. Lundberg, "Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children," Publication No. 162, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

risdictions. In Pennsylvania, the total amount given a mother with three dependent children cannot exceed forty dollars. In Northampton county in that state, according to Miss Nesbitt, the amount needed for families of this size ranged from forty-two to sixty-two dollars a month. In Minnesota, the maximum allowance for a mother with three children was fifty dollars a month. Budgets for such families in Minneapolis were estimated at from \$56.41 to \$82.31.⁷

Finding themselves unable to give mothers with dependent children an amount sufficient to care properly for their children, the more progressive agencies charged with the administration of the law have endeavored to devise ways and means of supplementing the public aid. A very obvious method of doing this has been to appeal to private agencies, but a number of the private agencies have not taken very kindly to the appeal. From their standpoint, it involved a number of serious complications. There was the danger that the assumption of partial responsibility by the private agency might give the state a pretext for shifting its responsibility. There were also questions of procedure that were by no means easy of solution. Should the private agency assume any responsibility for case work in families to which it made a supplementary allowance? Should it simply accept the plan of the public agency without any question? In some instances, the private agencies have been loath to supplement public relief because they did not have confidence in the work of the public agency. Some private agencies have met the situation by accepting joint responsibility for case work as well as relief. The ideal situation would be to have one agency responsible for all the relief as well as the case work of families under care. If another agency is to give supplementary relief, it should be given through the agency assuming responsibility. Any services rendered by the private agency should be a part of the plan of

⁷ Florence Nesbitt, "Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes," Publication No. 118, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 22.

the public agency. The whole question of supplementing public relief reduces itself very largely to a question of confidence and a willingness to give and take between the agencies concerned.

In the matter of supplementing relief and service, the Catholic organization is in a somewhat different position from the non-sectarian agency. The Catholic organization represents the Church in dealing with families. Its interests are primarily religious interests. It has a contribution to make to family life over and above that of the ordinary family agency. In order that its contribution may be effective, it must work in the closest harmony with the public agency. It must have a definite understanding with the public agency in regard to the services it is to render. As in the case of the general family agency, it would be much better to have the relief from Catholic sources given through the organization assuming major responsibility.

The advisability of having mothers with dependent children go out to work in order to supplement public aid has been a subject of considerable debate among social workers. The opinion has often been expressed that it is very difficult for a woman to be a good factory worker and an attentive mother at the same time. The mother who is compelled to work away from home cannot maintain that close personal contact with the children that is necessary for their character development. In the past few years many social workers have been trying to find a middle ground in this situation. They have been endeavoring to reconcile the mother's duties at home with her earning a certain amount to supplement the public allowance. These workers feel that each case should be decided on its merits. As a general rule, it is not desirable for the mother with very young children to go out to work. If the mother cannot work outside the home without seriously impairing her health, she should not be required to do so. The mother with six or seven children has all she can do to take care of their needs, without working outside the home.

On the other hand, there is no reason why the healthy mother with children of school age should not work during school hours to secure a part of her family budget.

The giving of aid to mothers on a case-work basis assumes that the public agency has adequate funds at its disposal. It supposes, moreover, good case-work standards. In a great many places, if not in most, the relief funds are far from adequate and the case-work standards leave much to be desired. The chances are, therefore, that a large number of mothers are going to work in order to supplement the public relief, not because it is the best plan for themselves and their children, but because the agencies cannot make any better plans for them. In this regard the figures presented by Miss Florence Nesbitt are very significant. In her study of mothers' aid in eight different localities, made for the United States Children's Bureau, Miss Nesbitt found that in 63 per cent of the families studied, the public aid was supplemented by the earnings of the mother and children.

Administration of Mothers' Aid.—In practically all states, mothers' aid is administered by a local city or county agency. The agency most generally charged with the administration of the law is the juvenile court. A few states, however, have organized special boards for this work. With the administration in the hands of local authorities, there is liable to be a great variation in standards between different localities. Some counties and cities will adopt high standards, while other counties and cities in the same state will adopt such low standards as practically to make the law a dead letter. This, as a matter of fact, is what has happened in a number of states. In Ohio, for instance, there are high standards of administration in the large cities, while, in a number of the remote rural counties, mothers' aid differs very little from the most antiquated system of poor relief. There is practically no investigation and no system of records, and the amount of relief given is usually very small.

The only effective means of securing uniform standards for the administration of mothers' aid within the different states is through state supervision. In a number of states, including Maine, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and California, local administration is supervised by a central state board. In some states, including Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and California, state aid goes hand in hand with state supervision. These states contribute to the local communities a definite share of the funds necessary for mothers' aid. The contribution is made from the state treasury on the condition that the local communities do their share both in the appropriation of funds and in the adoption of reasonable standards of administration.

Mothers' allowance has rendered a notable service in preserving the home life of large numbers of children who would otherwise have been deprived of their mothers' care. That it has not been able to attain the ideals of its advocates is due very largely to financial limitations. There are few, if any, communities in the United States where the funds appropriated for mothers' allowances are equal to the needs. In all communities with which the writer is acquainted there is a long waiting-list of mothers who need public aid. Many times, the agency charged with the administration of the law faces the alternative of giving sufficient relief to a small number of families or a smaller amount to a larger number. Then there are the positive legal limitations already referred to in regard to the amount of aid to be given for each child and the maximum amount for a family. Social-work organizations have consistently opposed these legal limitations. They have contended that the amount of aid to be given in each case should be determined by the needs of the family.

Mothers' aid, when properly administered, means all-round family service. In communities which have adopted up-to-date methods of administration, the agencies endeavor to get a fairly complete understanding of the problems of the fami-

lies applying for aid. These families have frequently passed through long periods of hardship and privation. If the father is dead, his death may have followed a long period of illness which exhausted the family, both financially and physically. With the sufferings of ill health and poverty may also come a loosening of family ties. The children may have begun to drift and to lose the ambition to make the best of their opportunities. The agency charged with the administration of mothers' allowances cannot, therefore, be satisfied merely with the giving of material aid; it must endeavor, in so far as may be necessary, to improve the general standards of family life. It must be on its guard against the possible danger of pauperizing the family.

The Day-Nursery.—Many social workers have been inclined to look upon the day-nursery as a product of an age when very little was done to conserve the home life of dependent children, of an age in which the one thought of persons interested in the child was to release the mother from responsibility for his care so that she might be free to go out to work. In recent years social workers have emphasized the necessity of home care for the child. It is for this reason that they have discouraged the use of the day-nursery as much as possible. Many of them, in fact, could no longer see how the day-nursery served any useful purpose. However, social workers have come to learn that it is not easy to secure a sufficient amount of public or private relief to induce all mothers with dependent children to abandon factories and offices entirely. They have found that in most states the mother must still go out to work in order to supplement her public allowance; that there are many mothers whose home duties will not be seriously interfered with by a certain amount of work outside of the home. They have found that a large number of mothers would prefer to make their own plans for their children rather than become the beneficiaries of public or private relief funds. An increasing number of mothers, moreover, are going out to work in order

to supplement the meager incomes of the chief breadwinners of their families.

Whether we think well or ill of it, large numbers of mothers are still going out to work. In fact, the number is increasing rapidly, year by year. The census of the United States tells us that nearly 2,000,000 married women are gainfully employed in this country. In 1890 less than five of every hundred married women were gainfully employed. In 1920, nine out of every hundred married women were gainfully employed. The total number of married women increased from about 515,000 in 1890 to nearly 2,000,000 in 1920. Between 1910 and 1920 the total number of women employed increased only 7 per cent. The number of married women increased 41 per cent.⁸

The day-nursery as an institution is intended for the day care of the children of mothers who are compelled to go out to work. The well-organized day-nursery with proper standards does not encourage mothers to work outside the home. It will not accept children for care except on the basis of a careful study of each individual case. If the children are so young that they need the mother's care throughout the entire day, the nursery will plan to have the mother remain at home with her children; if the older children are drifting by reason of the mother's absence, it will discourage her from going out to work.

One of the most difficult problems the day-nursery is compelled to deal with is that of the working mother who is endeavoring to supplement the meager income of her husband. In the past, many day-nurseries did not receive children both of whose parents were working. These nurseries now do not feel so secure about their position.

Mothers will go out to work so long as their husbands do not earn sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living. Here it is largely a matter of balancing losses and gains.

⁸ Mary N. Winslow, "Married Women in Industry," Publication No. 38, United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, p. 2.

If the mother remains at home all day, she can ordinarily give more attention to her children; but on the other hand, without the added income that her work brings, the family may not be able to adopt reasonable living standards.

Many day-nurseries still feel that their only task is to provide food and shelter for the children under their care. An increasing number, however, are beginning to see new possibilities in their work. The educational mission of the day-nursery is beginning to dawn on them. They realize that they can do much in forming the lives and habits of children under their care for eight hours every day.

Kindergarten classes for children between three and six are becoming the rule in day-nurseries. More attention is being given to children's play, diet, and health. Every well-organized day-nursery gives a careful medical examination to the children on admission. It commands the services of a nurse who assists the physician in carrying out a carefully planned health program.

A number of day-nurseries have, in a limited sense, become community centers. They have their mothers' groups and also their clubs and classes for older children. Through these collateral activities, the day-nursery is able to make a very important contribution to the whole family, and to the religious and social life of its neighborhood.

The day-nursery is touching only a limited part of the task of caring for the children of mothers who work. In fact, all the social agencies combined are touching only a part of this work. We have some 22,822 children under care in day-nurseries in the United States. This is certainly only a small part of the children of the 2,000,000 married women gainfully employed in this country.

The best day-nurseries are really nursery schools. They are supplementing the home in the training of the children of pre-school age. Educators are just beginning to realize that the training of these children should have a place in the educational curriculum. The nursery school is slowly finding

its place in the educational system. It is not the purpose of the nursery school, any more than it is that of the day-nursery, to remove from mothers their normal responsibilities. The day-nursery assumes that there are large numbers of mothers with children who must and will go out to work. The nursery school assumes that many mothers have difficulties with their children of pre-school age in the solution of which they need special assistance. There is no reason why the day-nursery cannot perform the same service for the children of working mothers that the nursery school is intended to perform for a larger group.

Protective Legislation for Children.—Under modern conditions, child life is exposed to many hazards which were not found in a less complex civilization. Children suffer from all the dangers and difficulties that confront us in our industrial civilization. They suffer by reason of the fact that parents do not always understand the difficulties and the dangers their children face. They suffer from the temptations to which they are exposed in the environment of our modern communities. Even with the best parents, the task of guiding and protecting children in our time is exceedingly difficult. The children come in contact with people who have no respect for law or morality. Young boys will sometimes join their older and more experienced companions in stealing from a store or paper-box. Young girls may steal something that appeals to them from the ten-cent store. The desire to have money for the "movies" is sometimes the immediate urge for the boy's first act of stealing, while the girl may be led on by the desire of having a colorful article of wearing apparel. These acts of stealing may be insignificant in themselves, but they mark many times the beginning of a well-fixed habit that twists the child's whole plan of life. It is when home life is poorly regulated, when very little or no effort is made by parents to direct the interests of their children, that particular danger arises. Children who do not receive proper guidance at home are liable to gather their

inspiration and their ideals from those with whom they associate outside of the home, and they will not always be guided by persons who are paragons of virtue. Children sometimes come into contact with depraved persons who abuse them and teach them vicious sex habits. They come into contact with persons who induce them to steal or offer them a market for stolen goods. They come into contact with people who teach them how to gamble or give them intoxicants.

Within recent years a great volume of legislation has been passed for the protection of children against the hazards to which they are exposed in our modern communities. This legislation aims to protect the child against wrong both inside and outside the home. It defines the child's rights as against the parents, as well as against other members of the community. It punishes parents for cruelty to children, for exposing them to immoral influences, for failing to supply them with a proper amount of food and clothing, and for neglecting their health and education. It brings the arm of the law to bear on those who employ children in violation of it, or who teach or expose them to wrong-doing.

It is not our purpose here to make a complete résumé of all the laws governing the rights of children, both inside and outside of the home. It will not be amiss to point out certain general facts which illustrate the drift of the legislation. In 1922, thirty-three states punished parents for inciting their children to misdemeanor. The laws vary as to the age of the children concerned. In some states, they include all children under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. In some, they include all minors. The character of the offenses also varies. "Maryland punishes failure to exercise proper guardianship or connivance at improper guardianship. In Washington to subject a child under seventeen to vicious or immoral influences is punishable."⁹ Eight states include the abetting of juvenile delinquency by others than the par-

⁹ William J. Shultz, *The Humane Movement in the United States, 1910-1922*. (Columbia University Press, New York, 1924), p. 216.

ents of the child. Five states forbid junk-dealers and pawnshop keepers from dealing with minors. Eight states punish an adult who induces a minor to gamble or smoke.¹⁰ In all states the sexual abuse of girls under a certain age is severely punished. There is, however, considerable variation in the age. In the District of Columbia, sexual abuse of a girl under sixteen is a capital offense. Seven states provide that the girl must be of previous chaste character. Seven states punish sexual abuse of boys under a certain age by special statute. In other states this offense is governed by general sodomy legislation.¹¹

In dealing with the neglected child, our first thought must be the possibility of establishing home responsibility. No effort must be spared to get parents to recognize their responsibility toward their children. In order to do good work with the parents, the social worker must have a fairly complete understanding of the family background and problems. In dealing with parents, the worker will at first depend on his powers of reasoning and persuasion, and it is only after the gentler methods have failed that he will have recourse to the law. The experience of every social agency shows that, while the law is a last resort, it is a very useful and a very necessary method of enforcing parental responsibility.

Community Program for Neglected Childhood.—The problems of the neglected child involve not only the home but also the community. The home with strong family ties, in which the parents clearly understand the problems of their children and devote themselves whole-heartedly to their care and training, may be able to survive the influence of the worst community conditions. But unwholesome conditions impose a very severe tax even on the best homes. It is when homes have elements of weakness, when parents do not understand the temptations to which their children are exposed,

¹⁰ William J. Shultz, *The Humane Movement in the United States, 1910-1922*. (Columbia University Press, New York, 1924), p. 216.

¹¹ William J. Shultz, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

that unregulated pool-rooms, dance-halls and motion pictures are liable to play havoc with the children. It is one of the tragedies of modern city life that it is organized in such a way as to work its greatest havoc among the weakest and most defenseless elements of the population. No social worker interested in neglected childhood can fail to reckon with those community forces that prey on our most helpless families. As part of the program of building up the lives and developing a sense of responsibility in these families, we must endeavor to control their neighborhood conditions; we must endeavor to control the sources of vice and sin in their communities. This means that the children's protective agency, if it does not have a community program of its own, must join with other organizations in carrying out community programs for the protection of childhood against moral and health hazards.

As a part of its community program, the agency dealing with neglected children must interest itself in the enactment and enforcement of laws for the protection of children. It must interest itself in providing adequate recreational and health facilities for children. The Catholic agency, moreover, will interest itself in extending the facilities for the religious care and training of children who are not reached by the parish or parochial school.

It should be possible in every community in the United States to bring to swift justice those who are responsible for teaching children vicious habits or exposing them to vicious influences.

Adults who teach children immoral habits or who treat them cruelly should not be permitted to go free after the children have been removed from their influence. Otherwise, they are liable to continue their vicious practices.

The methods of protecting children against cruelty and neglect in the United States differ very considerably in one city and another. Humane societies and societies for the prevention of cruelty to children play a very important part

in this work. There were in the United States in 1922 fifty-seven societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and 307 humane societies, combining children's protective work and work for the protection of animals. In a number of cities in the Middle West, juvenile courts are doing protective work for children.

An increasing number of agencies engaged in caring for children who have been separated from their own homes are finding it necessary to do a certain amount of protective work. They find that many of the children who are referred to them can be cared for in their own homes, but, in order that the children may receive proper care, it may be necessary to have some outside agency come to the assistance of the families. The assistance needed will not always be material relief. The families may not have a proper understanding of the problems of their children. There may be a serious conflict between the ideals of parents and those of children. The parents may be paying very little attention to the interests and activities of their children outside of the home. If the children's agency can get parents to give proper care to their children in their own homes, it is doing a far greater service than it would by taking the children from the parents. It may be objected that the care of the children in their own homes is really the function of a family agency or children's protective society rather than that of a foster-care agency. This is undoubtedly true from a theoretical standpoint. It must be remembered, however, that there are a great many communities in the United States in which there are no family societies or agencies specializing in protective work for children. In such communities, agencies and institutions that accept children for care must be prepared to do some constructive work for children in their own homes.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What are the provisions of the mothers' allowance law of your state in regard to the amounts to be paid to mothers with dependent children?

2. What provision is made in your city for supplementing the public aid to mothers with dependent children?

3. What agencies are engaged in children's protective work in your city? What do the programs of these agencies include?

4. Who are entitled to mothers' allowances in your state?

5. What are the principles governing the separation of children from their own homes? Secure some cases illustrating the policy of the juvenile court in your city in this matter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBOTT, EDITH, and BRECKINRIDGE, SOPHONISBA P., "The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois" (1921), Publication No. 82, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

LUNDBERG, EMMA O., "Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children, Extent and Fundamental Principles" (1926), Publication No. 162, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

NESBITT, FLORENCE, "Standards of Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes" (1923), Publication No. 118, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

PAGET, A. P., "Care of Children in Their Own Homes" (Manitoba Mothers' Allowance Commission, Winnipeg), National Conference of Social Work, Toronto, 1924.

PORTER, ROSE, "The Cost of Maintaining Good Case Work in a Public Agency," National Conference of Social Work, Denver, 1925.

"Proceedings of Conference on Mothers' Pensions, Held Under the Auspices of the Mothers' Pension Committee, Family Division of the National Conference of Social Work and the Children's Bureau, Providence R. I., June 28, 1922," Publication No. 109, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

Report of the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare (J. B. Lyon Co., Albany, 1923). II.

SHULTZ, WILLIAM S., *The Humane Movement in the United States, 1910-1922*" (Columbia University Press, New York, 1924).

THOMPSON, LAURA A., "Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions in the United States, Canada, Denmark and New Zealand" (1919), Publication No. 63, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, CHART 3.

CHAPTER VI

FOSTER CARE OF CHILDREN

Conservation of the Home.—In spite of their constant insistence on the great value of home life in the training and development of the child, social workers are still very far from having attained their ideals in the conservation of the home. "Through many national and state conferences called for the consideration of general and special problems affecting family life and child life, there has appeared," says Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, "a constant approval of all methods of work that tend to protect the home. We see, however, a great difference between theories and practice when we survey the mass of child-caring work that is being done in the United States."¹

Pennsylvania has more than 500 child-caring agencies caring for approximately 50,000 children. The State of New York has 233 agencies caring for approximately 46,064 children. Mr. Murphy estimates that a total of 250,000 children are being cared for every year by public and private child-caring agencies in the United States. If we could only carry out our ideals in regard to the conservation of home life, a large number of the children that are being cared for by various child-caring agencies and institutions could be cared for in their own homes. We will never attain this ideal until we get every child-caring agency and institution in the United States to see that no child is removed from his own home until every effort has been made to make the home a proper place for his care and unbringing. We still have in the United States

¹ "Foster Home Care for Dependent Children," Publication No. 136, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 18.

a large number of child-caring agencies and institutions that are removing children unnecessarily from their own homes. Sometimes they accept children against their better judgment through the pressure of outside influence or through lack of adequate facilities for the study of the children's homes.

The United States Children's Bureau has been able to ascertain the family status of certain groups of dependent children in nine states. It found that in a total of 19,879 children 5 per cent were reported as full orphans, 30 per cent as half orphans, and 65 per cent as having both parents living.²

Such investigations have led to a growing interest in the family circumstances that make it necessary for parents to place the responsibility for the care of their children upon the community.

Too many persons in charge of children's agencies have assumed in the past that the type of care they gave was far superior to that given by the ordinary poor home.

The Appeal of the Children's Agency.—The care of dependent and neglected children makes a moving appeal to charitably inclined persons. The appeal of the child seems to strike a much more responsive chord than the appeal made in behalf of the needy family. Therefore it is that agencies dealing with children have always been able to secure a larger and more generous response and have been able to develop more rapidly than agencies dealing with families. By reason of the powerful appeal they have made, private child-caring institutions have been able to assume the major part of the work of caring for dependent and neglected children in the United States. We rarely hear of family agencies' receiving large bequests, and yet the number of bequests to private child-caring institutions has assumed larger proportions every year. This, in all probability, is due to the fact that children's

² "The Children's Bureau of Cleveland," U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 177, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

institutions are something very real and tangible. Their work is more easily visualized.

Removal of Child from Home.—In the past we have been too much inclined to separate children from their own homes on the slightest pretext. Somehow or other, it has been assumed that the care of children away from their own homes was a kind of Utopia; that once the children were turned over to a good foster-care agency, there was no need to worry about them any further. More ripened experience in dealing with children cared for away from their own homes has disillusioned the more thoughtful children's workers. Experienced children's workers recognize that the separation of the child from his own home should be effected only after the most mature deliberation. By agreement with the parents, social case workers frequently provide temporary care for children away from their homes. During the illness of the mother, children frequently can be cared for in institutions or boarding homes. A child who is giving trouble in the home or is under the influence of a bad neighborhood will sometimes need a temporary change of environment in order that he may be saved from a life of delinquency. It should not be necessary to remove the guardianship of children from their own parents in order to provide temporary care for them. Private agencies can always provide for children without accepting guardianship. Public agencies should have the same authority.

It is only when the moral or physical welfare of the child is seriously imperiled that the parents should be deprived of their guardianship. If children have contracted habits of serious delinquency and every effort to have these habits changed in their own homes has been of no avail, guardianship should be removed from the home and transferred to some other agency. The delinquent child who has been brought to court for the first time should, as a rule, be placed under the direction of a probation officer. It is only in case of very serious violations of law that first offenders should

be committed to correctional institutions. "In cases of delinquency of children," says Judge Arnold, formerly of the Chicago Juvenile Court, "I never order the child taken away from the home on first time in court unless the delinquency with circumstances attendant is so gross as to show a depraved, vicious or recklessly destructive spirit with respect to life and property or unless the delinquency while obviously very reprehensible has been done with the approval or active encouragement of the parents or unless the home of the parents or guardian is so bad that it cannot be a factor in a plan for correcting the child."³

Children are especially susceptible to vicious and immoral influences in the home. These influences are liable to leave an impression which will mar their entire lives. Fathers and mothers who disregard the ordinary standards of morality, who are unfaithful to their marriage vows, or who are addicted to the use of drugs are unfit guardians for their children. In their own interests and in the interests of society, children should be taken away from such parents. If, however, there is any hope that the parents will change their habits of life, they should be given an opportunity of doing so under the supervision of the court. In another connection the writer has stated that "With the morally delinquent parent social workers tend to give up hope prematurely. Such parents should be given the opportunity for reformation before their children are removed. Social workers should beware of the Pharisaical attitude. They should be slow to condemn the careless and delinquent parent even after he has fallen seventy times seven times. They should model their actions after those of Christ, whose great heart went out in sympathy and compassion even to the greatest wrongdoers."⁴

If the parents are habitually cruel in dealing with their

³ "Standards of Child Welfare," Publication No. 60, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 345.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

children, they forfeit their right of guardianship. Some immigrant parents are excessively severe in dealing with their children. Their severity is due many times to their ignorance of the proper methods of dealing with children. With proper guidance and understanding there is a possibility of changing the attitude of such parents and of giving them a more intelligent appreciation of their children's needs.

The Children's Agency Takes the Place of Parents.—When an agency accepts a child for care, it assumes a very serious responsibility. It really undertakes to supply all the things that were missing in the child's home. It stands in the place of the parents and should, therefore, be ready to do for the child all that normal parents do for their children. The child-caring agency cannot excuse itself on the plea that the care it provides is better than that of the poor home. It is certainly unpardonable for an agency that represents the best ideals of the community to fall back on the lowest standards of family life to justify its own poor standards of work. The dependent and neglected child has a right to the best that the agency has to offer. Such a child needs even more than the normal child. He is usually the victim of neglect in the home; his health and education are liable to have been neglected; and he may have contracted many undesirable, if not vicious, habits. He may have become lazy and indifferent or stubborn and defiant toward parental and school authority. Again, many dependent and neglected children will have developed few of the interests of the children in normal homes. We frequently find that such children do not know how to participate in normal and healthy play activities. When they do enter into play, it is not easy for them to get along with other children. They have not learned that give-and-take which is so necessary for the ordinary associations of life.

The child for whom the children's agency assumes responsibility must have special care if he is to overcome the handi-

caps from which he has suffered, and to develop a normal personality. In providing this special care, the agency must turn its attention to the undesirable habits that the child may have formed. A particular effort must be made to enable him to overcome habits of stubbornness, disobedience, inability to get along with other children, and stealing. This will require long and painstaking effort on the part of those in charge of the children, and particularly so in the case of an older child whose habits are more fixed.

The Institution and the Foster Home.—For a number of years there has been a rather bitter controversy between the friends of institutions and the friends of foster homes as to which of the two types of care is best for the dependent and neglected child. Nowadays this controversy no longer has so much importance. Students to-day assume that both the institution and the foster home are necessary parts of any well-rounded system of child-care. Non-sectarian social agencies lean toward the boarding home rather than the institution for the care of most dependent and neglected children. They believe that the institution serves a very useful rôle as a place for the observation and study of children, for children needing disciplinary care, and for physically and mentally defective children. Catholic agencies, as a rule, prefer the institution to the boarding home for the care of the great majority of dependent and neglected children. They feel that the institutions under the direction of the sisterhoods have decided advantages in religious training of children. They believe, moreover, that contact with the religious is an excellent means of getting parents to recognize their religious responsibilities. Catholic organizations, however, are not satisfied with the congregate or mass treatment of children. They believe that the institution, in order to attain its purposes, should be prepared to give the children individualized care. They believe that children should be dealt with in small groups; that they should not be received until everything possible has been done to care for them in their own

homes; that the closest contact should be maintained between the institution and the children's parents or guardians; and that children should not be retained for unnecessarily long periods.

A number of Catholic institution superintendents have recently told the writer that after they have had children under care for two years, they have done all that institutions can do for them, and that after this period home care should be provided for them.

The Catholic institutions that are providing individualized care for their children recognize that there are certain types of children whose needs cannot be met by the institution. They have found that anemic children make more satisfactory progress in boarding homes. There are also a certain number of children presenting behavior problems that do not submit easily to institutional discipline. They make the training and discipline of the other children very difficult. Such children frequently do very well in boarding homes.

As a matter of fact, the institution still occupies the most prominent place in child-care in the United States. According to the census figures, in 1923 there were 204,888 children receiving institutional care in this country as compared with 22,281 in boarding homes and 51,164 in free homes. Only in a few states has boarding-home work been developed on a large scale. The majority of states still rely on institutions with a certain amount of care in free family homes.⁵

Facilities for the Study of Children.—If the children's agency is not prepared to supply what was missing in the child's home life, it is really not fulfilling its purpose. The agency cannot satisfy the unfulfilled needs of childhood without a careful study of those needs. It must study the individual child. It must study his family background, his physical, mental, and moral development. Without this careful study, it is impossible to plan intelligently for the child.

⁵ "Children under Institutional Care" (1923), United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, p. 14.

A number of institutions have developed their own machinery for the social study of children. They employ trained case workers who investigate all applications for admission and make suitable plans for all children under care. The employment of case workers by the individual institutions is not generally regarded as a desirable policy. It is rather difficult for a large number of institutions to maintain high case-work standards. The individual worker in the institution easily develops a one-sided viewpoint.

In Cleveland, a central children's bureau has been established to serve as a clearing-house for all the Catholic, Protestant, and non-sectarian child-caring agencies of the city. In all, twenty-two institutions are clearing through the bureau. It has not been the policy of the Cleveland Children's Bureau to make decisions on the reception and discharge of children by the various affiliated institutions. It investigates applications for admission and reports to the institution. It does not make recommendations except on request.

The Cleveland Children's Bureau is probably the most significant coöperative program for child-care in the United States. In no other city have the varied interests in this work been reconciled so effectively. The bureau has proceeded most carefully at every stage in its program. Through its close and sympathetic contact with the institutions, and its case committees, it has been able to give the institutional personnel a better understanding of alternate plans for the care of children.

A plan similar to that of Cleveland has been attempted in Denver through the Colorado Children's Aid Society, but only with limited success.

In a number of cities, child-caring agencies are offering service to particular groups of institutions. Service to Catholic children's institutions is an essential part of the program of nearly all the diocesan organizations of Catholic Charities. In a number of dioceses, all children admitted to institutions

are received through the central diocesan organizations of Catholic Charities.

It is important for institutions to have facilities not only for the making of social investigations of children but also for the making of medical examinations. An institution cannot organize a systematic medical program without a careful medical examination on admission. Some institutions still adhere to the discredited method of having the child present a health certificate which states that he is free from infectious and contagious diseases. Most of the institutions that have made a beginning in systematic social and health programs still rely on the hospital clinics for their initial medical examinations. The Cleveland Children's Bureau has its own clinic at Lakeside Hospital. The Catholic Welfare Bureau of Los Angeles operates its own clinic. The Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati has entered into a special arrangement with the Good Samaritan Hospital at Cincinnati.

A number of institutions are giving serious consideration to securing mental examinations for children presenting special mental and behavior problems. They avail themselves of the facilities offered by the mental and child-guidance clinics of their cities. The Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York and the St. Vincent de Paul Society of Detroit operate their own mental clinics.

The study of the child means more than the initial study made before or soon after he is accepted for care. The child should be studied continuously. Every children's agency should have a definite system of checking up on the results it is securing. The Cleveland Children's Bureau has devised an interesting plan of measuring the progress made by children in its affiliated institutions. The record contains some twenty-one questions covering every phase of the child's mental and spiritual life. These questions are to be answered once a month by the person in immediate charge of the child.⁶

⁶ Henry C. Schumacher, in *Catholic Charities Review*, December, 1927, pp. 383-384.

The children's agency or institution also needs to study continuously the possibilities of rehabilitating the child's own home life. It can never lose sight of the home if it is to do justice to the child.

In the continuous study of the child, there is need for the closest coöperation between the institution and the case-working agency. The case worker has secured invaluable information on the child's physical, mental, and moral development and home background during the course of his investigation or possibly his continued contact with the family. Good case work requires that he supply the institution with a copy of his investigation and his recommendations. But this is not sufficient. The worker must make his investigation a living and vital thing in the minds of the institution personnel. He must endeavor to have it used in the treatment of the child. The additional information that he acquires concerning the family situation must be relayed to the institution. The case worker must review, from time to time, with the superior of the institution and the person in immediate charge of the child, his progress and plans for his future. Case work of this type will gradually get the institution to recognize its proper place in the field of child-care.

Types of Children's Institutions.—When children are dealt with in large masses, they cannot receive the individual attention and care they need. It is plainly impossible for one person to give individual attention to seventy or more children. Any one person cannot possibly understand the needs of such a large number. Under the circumstances, the child has practically no one in whom he can confide; he has no one to whom he can give his love. In a large crowd, there must, of necessity, be rather strict discipline. The child in the crowd is given very little opportunity of selecting the things of his own choice.

Students of child-care have long since recognized that children in institutions should be dealt with in small groups.

This fact has led to important changes in institution buildings. A fairly large number of the children's institutions that have been built during the past twenty years have adopted the cottage plan. Under this plan, each group of ten to twelve children has its own cottage. Each cottage has its own living-room, its own dormitory, and frequently its own dining-room and kitchen. Some cottage-plan institutions have a central kitchen with dining-room attached for the children from the individual cottages. Each cottage is in charge of a cottage mother.

A number of institutions have adopted the cottage plan in variously modified forms. Some have erected a number of semi-detached buildings, each accommodating from thirty to forty children. Others have adopted the plan of having the cottages attached like the rows of houses in our cities; still others have adopted the apartment-house type of institution.

Group Plan in Congregate Institutions.—The movement for the individualized care of children has been a serious challenge to the large congregate institutions. Their investment in plants and equipment ran into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. The cost of replacement would have been prohibitive. They were, therefore, compelled as best they could to adjust their buildings and facilities to the new needs that confronted them. On studying the situation, it was found that it would be possible to secure the advantages of the cottage-plan institution without dismantling their structures. The children in the congregate institution could be divided into groups of twenty-five or thirty. Each group could have its own dining-room, its own living-room and recreation room, and be under the direction of its own group mother.

The following very clear description of the group plan is taken from the Standards for Catholic Child-Caring Homes in the United States:

“Progressive superintendents feel that the family spirit must be carried into the procedure and administration of

child-caring homes. The molding of a child's character demands intimate personal contact between each child and those who take the place of his parents. Such contact can hardly be present where children are handled in large masses as under the old Congregate System. With the passage of years there has come into existence a third type of care known as the 'Group System.' It is adaptable to buildings built on the congregate plan. Its aim is to bring to the children those advantages that are to be had only when they are cared for and educated in small groups. Experience has shown that almost every child-caring home can adopt this method of caring for its children without assuming an intolerable burden. Very often a re-arrangement of rooms with a slight decrease in the population and a few extensions in the building is sufficient to provide the facilities needed.

"Let us visualize one of our Catholic homes conducted under the Group System. The children are divided into groups of about thirty. A Sister or Group Mother is placed in charge to act as mother and confidante to all the boys or girls of her group. She is responsible for their conduct and behavior at all times except when they are in school. She learns each child's strong and weak points and is able to award praise or blame. Her little family forms a separate unit with its own living-room, dining-room, bedroom and bathing and lavatory facilities. She encourages the children to keep in touch with their relatives and friends and allows the relatives to visit frequently under direction from the office or the Sister Superior, if there be no central reception room. She sees that an accurate record is kept of the names and addresses of all visitors."

During the past five years, an increasing number of children's institutions have come to adopt the group plan of care. Even in institutions that have not adopted the group plan in its entirety, many significant changes in methods appear. There is no longer the tendency to deal with children *en masse* which prevailed everywhere in the past. A number

of institutions which have not found it practicable to divide their children into groups of twenty-five have groups of forty. Other striking evidences of the tendency on the part of institutions to individualize their children are the provision of a special locker for the individual child, the education of the child in the use and value of money, the disappearance of suppression as a means of controlling the children, the disappearance of all evidences of regimentation from the institution, and the disappearance of the uniform and the substitution of clothing suited to the needs and tastes of the individual child.

Health.—The child away from his own home is much more liable to present problems of neglected health than the child at home. The former has usually come from a home in which the needs of children have been neglected. He may be a victim of undernourishment, which is a prolific cause of many maladies among the children of the poor. The child away from its home needs special attention from the health standpoint. The institution should be equipped to give the child the health care that he needs. This should include facilities not only for the initial physical examination, but also for the remedying of physical defects, periodical reëxamination, and health education.

In some cities, the health work for all children of school age, including those in institutions, is in charge of the city health department. In many cities institutions depend upon volunteer physicians for the care of the health of their children. Institutions that have given serious thought to the matter have come to the conclusion that, in order to develop systematic health programs, they must have their own part-time physicians who are paid for their services. The volunteer physician cannot be expected to give continuous service to the institution. He cannot very easily visit the institution at stated times without sacrificing his own professional duties to his patients. The character of the service given by local health departments will vary with the personnel of these

departments and the volume of work to be done. As a rule, health departments are so pressed with other responsibilities that they have very little time for institutional children.

Religious Training.—A large number of the children who are cared for away from their own homes have had little or no religious training. They are frequently the children of parents who have drifted away from the Church. Many times they do not know their first prayers. We cannot expect to make much progress in changing the habits of life of the children without a period of intensive religious training. The boy who has contracted vicious or sinful habits of any kind needs the assistance and the grace of religion more than the ordinary child. Through the aid of volunteer friendly visitors it should be possible to provide religious training for the child in his own home. For the religious training of the child who has been removed from his own home, the institution has important advantages over the boarding home.

The children who present serious conduct problems usually lack proper religious training. Many times we find that they have drifted away from the Church, and that they come from families that are careless or indifferent toward religion. The first step in the reform of such children is a good course of religious training, through which they may be given the incentives necessary for the change of engraved habits and the development of a new attitude toward life and its responsibilities.

The Sisters in our Catholic institutions have a great advantage in the religious training of the children under their care. They teach not only by precept but also by example. The unselfish service and devotion to duty which stand out so prominently in the lives of the Sisters are bound to make a profound impression on the lives of the children. In the Sisters' institutions, religion is made an integral part of the life of the child. He is taught to look upon all the acts of the day as a part of his religious duties. He is taught that respect for authority, regard for the rights of others, patience,

self-control in his dealings with other children, care of his health, and the use and development of his God-given faculties are really a practical exemplification of his religious beliefs. The writer can recall a number of instances of children whose whole lives have been changed by the influence of a Sister in an institution. The Sister has been their ideal and their guide, not only during their stay in the institution but through their lives ever after. Many times they have returned and consulted this Sister in regard to the most serious problems of their lives.

Education.—The educational standards of the children's institution should be as high as those of the public and parochial schools. The institutional child needs more individualized instruction than the child in the ordinary school. Dependent children, with their histories of irregular attendance, frequent changes in schools, and retardation, need the best teaching service possible in order to regain lost ground educationally as well as physically and socially.⁷

It is highly desirable that institutional children in the grades should attend school outside. Attendance at an outside school gives them an opportunity of associating with other children. It also saves the institution the cost of organizing its own educational system and permits it to use its usually limited personnel for other work.

Very few children's institutions have the necessary personnel to operate their own high schools. When regular high schools are within reach, it is much better for institutions to avail themselves of them. Many institutions make the mistake of attempting high-school work with inadequate personnel and equipment.

Every institution should have facilities for manual training for boys and training in domestic science for girls. When possible, arrangements should be made for manual and domes-

⁷ "Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children," Publication No. 170, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 89.

tic science training on the outside. We find in nearly every institution a certain number of children who do not fit into the regular classes. They are either mentally deficient, or seriously retarded in their school work. If the institution does not find it possible to send these children to outside schools, it should have special classes for them.

Recreation.—Organized recreation is even more necessary for the institutional child than for the normal child at home. The child at home has many opportunities for recreation that are denied the institutional child. Many institutional superintendents are still under the impression that children do not need any special direction in their play. If they would compare their institutions with those having organized recreational programs, they would immediately see the difference. It is a matter of universal experience that organized recreation makes a vast difference in the moral, mental, and physical development of the children. Organized play is one of the best preparations for life's work. When there is no play program, many of the children wander around aimlessly during their leisure hours. Their minds are filled with day-dreams or with other things that are positively harmful. "Play," says the Institutional Manual of the United States Children's Bureau, "should consist not only of vigorous exercises and healthy fun but also of some kinds of vigorous recreation that are not primarily physical. Games, athletic sports and folk dancing are diversions that promote physical development and offer opportunity for incidental moral training, stimulation of intellectual alertness and other desirable qualities. Reading, music, handicrafts and dramatics furnish excellent mental recreation. Scouting, nature study and similar activities offer occasion for both physical exercise and mental exercise."⁸ The United States Children's Bureau has published a brief manual of games that should prove most helpful to children's institutions.

⁸ Publication No. 170, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 95.

Sufficient indoor play space, with equipment for table games, is a necessity in every institution. Every child should have his own compartment for his toys, baseball bats, and the like. Very few institutions can afford to employ full-time recreational directors. Most of them must be satisfied with part-time directors. It is generally possible for the institution to secure a part-time director at a certain rate per hour. Only in exceptional cases is it possible to secure a volunteer director who will give satisfactory service. In some cities, recreational agencies are willing to give the part-time services of the members of their staff to institutions free of charge.

In Cincinnati and St. Louis, the central organizations of Catholic Charities are furnishing part-time recreational leaders to the Catholic children's institutions.

Records in Children's Institutions.—The children's institution cannot do intelligent work for the child without a careful record of his family history and of his physical, mental, and moral development. The best children's institutions have, therefore, given careful thought to the problem of record-keeping. It is generally accepted, at the present time, that the case worker who has made the pre-admission investigation should turn over to the institution a fairly complete summary of the investigation with recommendations. The institution should have a face sheet, similar to that used by the family agency. This face sheet should contain the salient facts in regard to the child and his family. The institution should have a chronological record of the child's progress while under its care. It should have a medical sheet which gives the results of the pre-admission medical examination, of subsequent examinations, and of progress made in remedying the child's physical defects. The institution should also have an educational sheet containing information in regard to the child's previous educational history and his educational progress in the institution. Either as a part of the medical sheet or on a separate sheet there should be provision for information on the child's dental record.

Function of Child-Placing Agency.—No system of child-care can be complete without some provision for the placing of children in foster homes. An institution cannot retain its children indefinitely. It must either return them to their own homes or place them in the homes of other persons able and willing to care for them. The institution, if it is to do justice to its children, must develop its own child-placing department or make use of facilities offered by some existing child-placing agency. It will be much more economical and will insure higher standards of work to have the institution adopt the latter alternative. In Catholic work, there is a very pronounced tendency to have all Catholic children's institutions receive and discharge their children through central diocesan agencies of Catholic Charities.

According to Dr. Slingerland, "Child-placing in families by incorporated societies using paid trained workers and operating by systematized methods was the most important development in child welfare work during the latter half of the nineteenth century."⁹ It is now recognized rather generally that the social work of any city is not complete without one or more child-placing agencies with trained personnel. These agencies have come to accept certain fundamental standards as essential in finding foster homes for children and in their placement and supervision. Child-placing is no longer the simple task it was supposed to be in the past. It no longer consists in handing out a child to any well-meaning person who presents himself at the office of the agency, or giving a person a letter to an institution authorizing him to select the child that most appeals to him. Child-placing without any study of the child or of the home in which he was placed is responsible for much of the disrepute in which this type of work was held in the past. Many child-placing agencies in the past have done little more than supply cheap labor for farmers.

⁹ W. H. Slingerland, *Child Placing in Families* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919), p. 35.

Foster-Home Care.—There are three ways in which a child may be placed. He may be placed in a boarding home, his board being paid by his parents, his guardian, or the agency. He may be placed in a free home with or without a view to adoption. He may be placed in a home where he receives a definite and fixed wage in addition to his board.

By reason of the difficulty of securing a sufficient number of free homes, child-caring agencies have been compelled, to an increasing degree, to make use of boarding homes. Except in the case of those placed for adoption, it is not easy to find homes that are able and willing to take care of children free of charge. Even with the payment of board, it is exceedingly difficult to find good homes for children. In the boarding home, as in the free home, we must expect a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the parents. The amount of the board is, of course, never sufficient to compensate for the services rendered. We must expect a real love for and interest in the welfare of the children. We must look to the foster-parents to give to the children what was missing in their own homes. We must expect them to be able to reckon with and to correct the faults of the children.

The placing of children in foster homes means a careful investigation of the home, a careful study of the child, and the type of supervision of the child after he has been placed that will assure him the kind of treatment to which he is entitled.

Standard child-placing agencies begin their investigation of the home by having one or both prospective foster-parents come to their offices for an interview. They have a detailed application blank made out and signed by the prospective foster-parents. The application includes three references to persons unrelated to the parties and also the name of the pastor and family physician. Through his interview with the applicants and his general knowledge of the community, the worker from the organization should secure a number of independent references. Both the references given by the ap-

plicants and the independent references should be corresponded with and interviewed personally. The final step is the worker's visit to the prospective foster home.

Miss Mary S. Doran has set forth very clearly and accurately the points concerning which the worker should secure information before passing on the value of a home. They are "the age, sex and relationship of each of its members, including help, lodgers and boarders; the financial condition of the family; the religious life; the occupational interests of each member; their health, education, reputation, personal characteristics, temperament, special interests and social life; the facilities for child-care, including the location, size, arrangement, furnishing and condition of the house with special attention to the sleeping arrangements for a child; the home grounds; the type of neighborhood; the available community resources for schooling; religious and social life; industrial training and play; the experience of the husband and wife in the care and training of children; the kind of child wanted; the place which a child would have in the home and community life and the family's reason for wanting to take a child."¹⁰

In order that the agency may be able to select the type of home best suited to the child's needs, it should make a careful study of his background. We find from experience that different homes are suited to different types of children. A foster-mother who is kind, considerate, and gentle may be a great success in dealing with a nervous, shy, and under-nourished child, whereas she might be a failure in dealing with an unruly child who needs the firm hands of a disciplinarian. Children who have been placed in foster homes should receive the closest attention from the workers in the agency. Frequency of visits to foster homes may vary according to the degree in which the placement is satisfactory or unsatis-

¹⁰ Mary S. Doran and Bertha C. Reynolds, *Selection of Foster Homes for Children* (New York School of Social Work, New York, 1919), *Studies in Social Work*.

factory, but the best child-caring agencies agree that foster homes should be visited at least once a month. It is a well-recognized principle that every child-caring agency should maintain a complete record system, including a record of the social, medical, and mental study of the child, a record of the investigation of the foster home, and a record of the child's progress while under care.

No matter what we may do in conserving and rehabilitating the home life of children, there will always be a certain number of children who can never be cared for by their own parents or relatives. For these we must find permanent foster homes, and it should be our aim to find foster homes that are prepared to adopt them. For children under five years, with a fairly good background and normal mental and physical health, it is always possible to find suitable adoption homes. In placing children in homes with a view to adoption, we should exercise even greater care than in placing children in boarding homes. When we place a child out for adoption, we are making a permanent plan for the child in a home other than its own. We should, therefore, be perfectly sure that the child is an adoptable child. We must make sure that he does not have a background of insanity or feeble-mindedness. We must be sure that there is no hope of having him cared for by his own parents or relatives. We must see to it that the child has been properly surrendered by or removed from his own parents. We must make a careful study of the home that proposes to adopt the child. We must exercise close supervision over the child until he is legally adopted. Consent to legal adoption should be preceded by a probation period of at least one year. Some agencies require a probation period of two years.¹¹

The Unmarried Mother.—There are no problems in the whole field of child welfare that are so difficult of solution and about which there is so much uncertainty as the prob-

¹¹ Edmond J. Butler, in *Proceedings, National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1920*, pp. 92-98.

lems of the unmarried mother and her child. It is nature's course and the Divine Will that the sex instinct should not be gratified and children procreated apart from the responsibilities of married life. We cannot do anything that will encourage the gratification of the sex instinct apart from family life. On the other hand, we must preserve the fundamental right of every child born into this world to proper care and treatment.

Parents are bound by natural law to nurture their own children. This obligation rests no less on unmarried than on married parents. The assumption from which we must start in all work with children of unmarried mothers is that they will remain with and be cared for by their own mothers. Any other assumption would run counter to nature's law and can, therefore, be justified only under the most exceptional circumstances.

In dealing with the children of unmarried mothers, we should endeavor to promote the interest of the mother and at the same time not to create insuperable difficulties for her, or to do anything which would place the illicit relationships on the same basis as married life.¹²

All workers have come to recognize the fundamental importance of breast feeding. A pediatrician in charge of the medical work of a foundling home recently stated to the writer that breast feeding would solve more than 50 per cent of his medical problems. Social workers also find that when the mother nurses her child, their problems are simplified very greatly. From actual concrete experience, we find that breast feeding has lowered infant mortality very considerably. When the unmarried mother nurses her child, her maternal affection is aroused to such a degree as to make her very slow to surrender the child to others. During the nursing period, moreover, those who are in contact with the unmarried mother

¹² John O'Grady, "Ethical Aspects of Illegitimacy," *Catholic Charities Review*, January, 1927, pp. 12-16.

have an excellent opportunity of planning for the mother and her child.

According to a recent study of the United States Children's Bureau, the infant mortality rate for children of illegitimate birth in Baltimore decreased from 294.2 per thousand in 1915 to 128.4 in 1921. During the same period, the mortality rate of legitimate babies decreased from 102.0 to 84.7. This means a decrease of 56.4 per cent for illegitimate children and 17 per cent for legitimate children.¹³

It is impossible to account for such a large decline in the infant mortality of illegitimate children except as a result of the Maryland six-months' law passed in 1916, which requires that no baby under six months of age may be separated from its mother except by regular proceedings. According to the law there are only three ways in which a child may be separated from his mother: on certification by two physicians that separation is necessary for the physical welfare of the mother and child; by direction of the board of state aid; and by order of a court of competent jurisdiction.¹⁴

North Carolina has a law similar to that of Maryland. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, the state boards of control have made regulations requiring the mothers to nurse their children for three months. In these two states the regulations have given rather general satisfaction.

The natural law governing the duties of parents toward their children binds unmarried parents as well as married. It is only for very serious reasons involving the welfare of the parents and children that unmarried parents are justified in transferring their obligations to others. By means of good case work, it should be possible to have the mother retain the custody of the child. The child may be adopted by the mother's parents, or the mother may board the child

¹³ "Welfare of Infants of Illegitimate Birth," Publication No. 144, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

in an institution or a boarding home. We should not ordinarily urge the mother to face the community with her child and make an open confession of her lapse.

Any plans made for the child of illegitimate birth should not overlook the child's father. Every effort should be made to establish paternity and to persuade the father to recognize his responsibility for the child's support. By kindly and tactful approach it will frequently be possible to get the father to recognize his obligations. By arrangement with the district attorney's office, it is possible to have agreements entered into with the father registered so that they may be used against him in case of default.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. How many children are cared for away from their own homes in your community?
2. What types of agencies deal with children away from their own homes in your community?
3. What are the policies of the agencies of your community in separating children from their own homes? To what extent do they provide for careful social investigation?
4. What is the law of your state governing the responsibilities of parents of illegitimate children?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "A Program for Catholic Child-Caring Homes" (a report of the Committee on Standards of the Conference of Religious), National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, 1923.
- A Touch o' Heather and Other Homes* (J. A. Gardy Printing Co., Doylestown, Pennsylvania, 1926), Children's Bureau of Philadelphia.
- BUTLER, EDMOND, J., "Standards of Child Placing and Supervision," *Proceedings, National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1920*.
- "Children under Institutional Care" (1923), United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
- DELIMA, AGNES, *Our Enemy the Child* (New Republic, Inc., New York, 1925).
- DORAN, MARY S., and REYNOLDS, BERTHA C., *The Selection of Foster Homes for Children* (New York School of Social Work, New York, 1919).

- "Foster Home Care for Dependent Children" (1926), Publication No. 136, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.
- "Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children" (1927), Publication No. 170, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.
- MANGOLD, GEORGE B., *Problems of Child Welfare* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1924).
- Manual for Cottage Mothers and Supervisors of Children*, Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, Pleasantville, New York, 1925).
- PATRI, ANGELO, *Problems of Childhood* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1926).
- RALPH, GEORGIA G., *Elements of Record Keeping for Child-Helping Organizations* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1915).
- REEDER, R. R., *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn* (Noble & Noble, New York, 1911). Of special interest to institution workers.
- SCHUMACHER, DR. HENRY C., "Habit Formation through Discovering the Child at an Early Age," *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), No. 10.
- SLINGERLAND, W. H., *Child Placing in Families* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919).
- "The Children's Bureau of Cleveland" (1927), Publication No. 177, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.
- THEIS, SOPHIE VAN SENDEN, and GOODRICH, CONSTANCE, *The Child in the Foster Home* (New York School of Social Work, New York, 1921).
- "Welfare of Infants of Illegitimate Birth" (1925), Publication No. 144, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

CHAPTER VII

THE JUVENILE COURT—ITS DEVELOPMENT AND METHODS

The Child in the Criminal Courts.—Under English common law the state was supposed to take the place of parents in dealing with dependent and neglected children. The courts adopted equity or chancery procedure in dealing with these two classes of children; in other words, they did not follow the purely technical rules of procedure and evidence in dealing with the children.

The common law did not provide any special procedure for delinquent children. They were dealt with in the ordinary courts of justice like the adult criminals. The only difference which the common law recognized between juveniles and adults was in the matter of consent. A child under seven was supposed to be unable to give consent. In the case of a child between seven and fourteen, there existed a presumption of incapacity which the state had to rebut before conviction could be had.

Once it was decided that the juvenile offender was fully capable of giving consent, he received the same kind of punishment as the adult offender. The law looked to the character of the offense rather than to the offender. If a child between seven and fourteen committed an offense, he received the specific punishment which the law attached to that particular offense. He was committed to the same prison with confirmed adult criminals. This association with adult criminals was bound to exercise a very harmful influence on the child. Instead of changing his habits of life, it paved the way for a new generation of criminals.

Special Institutions for Juvenile Offenders.—The first

step toward the providing of specialized treatment for juvenile offenders in the United States was the establishment of the New York House of Refuge in 1824. Similar institutions were established in Boston and Philadelphia within the succeeding four years. These institutions not only separated the youthful from the adult offender, but they also provided for intellectual, industrial, and spiritual training. The House of Refuge was later followed by special training-schools for boys and girls. In these schools, an effort was made to give the children a good general education and to provide the type of vocational instruction which would qualify them to take up their tasks in life intelligently.

Another very important step in the development of special treatment for delinquent boys and girls was the organization of parole in connection with the reform schools. Parole gave the authorities a chance of shortening the term of institutional care and of returning the child to his home under the supervision of a parole officer. The parole officer was expected to keep in touch with the child after he had been discharged from the institution, to assist him in his difficulties, to interest him in his educational work, and, when necessary, to find a position for him.

Special Hearings for Children's Cases.—Under the common law, children were tried in the same courts and with the same rules of procedure as adults. Many years before the advent of the juvenile court, a number of judges, recognizing that children needed an entirely different type of treatment from adult delinquents, began to arrange separate hearings for children's cases. It was soon recognized, however, that the separate hearing was, after all, a makeshift. The judge of the ordinary criminal court did not have the time nor the special training necessary to gain an insight into children's cases. It was evident to those persons who had given any thought to the subject that what the children really needed was a separate court with a judge who was specially qualified for the work, and a probation department which

could secure complete information in regard to their personal history and family background in order that a suitable plan of treatment might be formulated for them. It took some years before these ideals of the pioneers in child-care in the United States could be realized. In fact, we still find city after city in which the accomplishments of the juvenile court have fallen short of their ideals. True, we find juvenile courts, but they are not socialized courts. They do not have the machinery necessary to deal intelligently with delinquent children. They have very few probation officers, and such officers as they have are totally untrained.

Development of Juvenile Court.—Twenty-seven years ago the Illinois legislature passed the first juvenile court law in the United States. Under the terms of this law a juvenile court was established in the city of Chicago in 1899. In 1903 the Colorado legislature passed a juvenile court law. Since that time, practically all the states have passed laws providing special court procedure in children's cases.

In 1918 the United States Children's Bureau found that, of the 2,034 courts in the United States hearing children's cases from which the Bureau obtained information, 321, or 16 per cent, provided separate hearings for children, had an officially organized probation service, and had means of recording social information.¹ This means that only 16 per cent of the courts in the United States hearing children's cases satisfy the most fundamental requirements of a juvenile court. We are, therefore, still very far from our ideals in the socialized treatment of children coming before the courts.

Twelve courts provide by law for the organization of juvenile courts independent of the other courts in all large cities. In the District of Columbia, the juvenile court is separate from and independent of the other courts. In small cities and rural communities, the volume of work would not

¹ Evelina Belden, "Courts in the United States Hearing Children's Cases," Publication No. 65, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 12.

be sufficient to justify the establishment of independent courts for children's cases. In these jurisdictions, the juvenile court is a special branch of the county or district court. In most states, the juvenile courts, even of the large cities, are separate branches of the county, municipal, district, recorder's, or common-pleas courts. There has been some discussion of the advantages of independent courts for children's cases. When a judge is selected with special reference to his qualifications to deal with children, and when he gives his undivided attention to the work, the juvenile court, which is a branch of another court, can secure all the advantages of the independent court.²

Juvenile Court Methods.—In dealing with the delinquent child, the juvenile court takes a different attitude from the ordinary criminal court. The court represents the authority of the state in dealing with children whose own parents have failed properly to discharge their responsibilities. The juvenile court must, therefore, reflect the attitude of the wise parent. Its first thought must be the promotion of the child's welfare; this must be the purpose of every step that it takes. The wise parent recognizes that punishment is not the only means of changing the habits of life of the child. He realizes that kindness, good example, wholesome recreation, a type of education suited to the child's needs, and proper religious training are far more important. Like the good parent, the juvenile court must make the child realize that he has done wrong and must see to it that he makes atonement. The court must never encourage the notion that the child is not fully responsible for his acts. It must keep in mind, however, that atonement for his offenses is only a part of a plan of treatment for the delinquent child.

It is generally recognized that, in order properly to discharge its functions, the juvenile court should be a court

² Evelina Belden, "Courts in the United States Hearing Children's Cases," Publication No. 65, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 12.

of equity or chancery rather than of criminal jurisdiction. When a child is brought before the juvenile court with equity or chancery jurisdiction, he is not charged with a specific offense. It is, therefore, unnecessary to follow the same rules of procedure and evidence as in the ordinary criminal court. When the court has reasonable ground for believing that a child is not receiving the care and treatment to which he is entitled, or that he is contracting habits that may seriously interfere with his welfare, or that he is living under conditions that endanger his health or morals, the court, as the representative of the state, may take cognizance of his case and study his behavior and the conditions under which he lives. If, on investigation, it is found that the parents are perfectly capable of caring for the needs of the child, the court must do everything possible to maintain and strengthen their authority. It is only when parental authority has been greatly undermined that it should be supplemented; it is only when parental authority has been entirely undermined that it should be superseded by the court.

Through the juvenile court, the state extends its protecting arm to dependent, neglected, and delinquent childhood. It cannot do its duty in this matter if it is compelled to wait until dependency, neglect, or delinquency has been established beyond all doubt. In the meantime, the child's hopes might be ruined and his prospects blighted forever.

Juvenile Court Jurisdiction.—The juvenile court should have exclusive jurisdiction over all offenses of children. It should also have original jurisdiction over all questions affecting neglect, dependency, and guardianship of children. All petitions for the adoption of children should come before the juvenile court. With its facilities for home investigation, the juvenile court is better equipped to care for the interests of children placed out for adoption than the ordinary court of general jurisdiction.

In recent years, the state has come to extend its protection to children until they have attained their eighteenth

year. We have a striking illustration of this extension of the protective policy of the state in our child-labor legislation and our continuation-school laws. In many states the child who has not finished the eighth grade must continue in school until sixteen. The child between fourteen and sixteen must have a permit in order to work. This permit is not given until the child has had a thorough physical examination and steps have been taken to remedy any physical defects from which he may be suffering. In this way the state endeavors to protect the health of the child who is going out to work.

Children under eighteen are prevented from entering certain types of dangerous occupations. Children between sixteen and eighteen are required to attend continuation school for a certain number of hours every week. We have an evidence of the same protective tendency in marriage legislation. A number of states prevent girls under sixteen and boys under eighteen from marrying. Since the state is extending its protective legislation to children until they have attained their eighteenth year, it is only proper that the courts that are specially equipped to deal with children's cases should have jurisdiction up to the same age. When a juvenile court secures jurisdiction over a boy or girl under eighteen, it should be able to retain jurisdiction until he or she reaches twenty-one.

Many members of the legal profession believe that the juvenile court should not have jurisdiction in the case of serious offenses committed by children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Sometimes the whole community is aroused by offenses committed by boys of this age and will be adverse to having them dealt with by the juvenile court. This difficulty can be met by giving the juvenile court judge authority to waive jurisdiction in serious crimes committed by boys over fourteen, such as murder, rape, housebreaking, and arson.

Matters that affect the interests of children so vitally as child-labor and compulsory school-attendance legislation

naturally come within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. The enforcement of school attendance is primarily the concern of the school-attendance department. It is only after the attendance department has failed in its efforts that the child and his parents should be brought before the juvenile court. In such cases, it will usually be more necessary to proceed against the parent than against the child.

The juvenile court should have authority to enforce paternal responsibility for the care of children. It should, therefore, have authority to proceed against the deserter and the non-supporter. It should have authority to establish the paternity of children born out of wedlock. A few juvenile courts exercise this broad jurisdiction at the present time. "The Denver, New Orleans and District of Columbia juvenile courts have broad jurisdiction over cases of non-support and desertion. The California statute gives the juvenile court original jurisdiction in cases of wilful failure to provide food, clothing, shelter or medical attendance."³

In the District of Columbia and Minnesota, juvenile courts have jurisdiction over cases involving determination of paternity and the support of children born out of wedlock.⁴

The juvenile court cannot do its work effectively if its efforts are confined to the individual child and his family. It must be in a position to deal with conditions in the community that make for delinquency. It must have jurisdiction over those who contribute to the delinquency of children. It must be in a position to punish the junk-dealer who buys articles stolen by children, the dance-hall or pool-hall proprietor who permits children on his premises, and moving-picture theaters that exhibit obscene pictures. Above all, it must have jurisdiction over those who induce children to steal, or teach them vicious habits. The Denver, Los Angeles,

³ Katherine Lenroot and Emma O. Lundberg, "Juvenile Courts at Work," Publication No. 141, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, pp. 14-15.

⁴ Katherine Lenroot and Emma O. Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

San Francisco, District of Columbia, and New Orleans Juvenile courts, among others, have this type of jurisdiction at the present time.

Juvenile Court Procedure.—A delinquent child may be brought to the attention of the juvenile court by a policeman or other officer of the law. When a child is brought into custody by an officer of the law, every possible precaution should be taken to avoid the formalities of arrest and detention used for adult offenders. The patrol-wagon should never be used for transporting children in custody. Children should not be detained in the ordinary police stations or jails used for the detention of adults. Every city should have some special facilities for the detention of children. If it is not possible to have a home especially equipped for this purpose, private boarding homes may be used. For a number of years, the City of Boston has been using boarding homes for the detention of juvenile offenders. Detention homes should, of course, have proper facilities for isolation of children and for mental and physical examinations. There is need for the greatest care in detaining children awaiting juvenile court hearing. As a rule, children should be returned to their own parents.

Special provision should be made for the detention of dependent and neglected children. It is a very questionable policy to detain dependent and neglected children in the same buildings with delinquents. The St. Louis Juvenile Court has made special arrangements with the city Board of Children's Guardians for the care of dependent and neglected children pending formal hearing.

It is only in cases in which parents or guardians have lost all control over children or in very serious offenses that the children should be retained.⁵ When a private citizen files a formal complaint against a child, a summons is mailed

⁵ Bernard Flexner and Roger Baldwin, *Juvenile Courts and Probation* (The Century Co., New York, 1914), pp. 19-20; Raymond W. Murray, *The Delinquent Child and the Law*, p. 61.

to the child and his parents ordering them to appear in court.

Most juvenile courts have unofficial hearings for minor offenses. Sometimes children, through no serious fault of their own, become involved in neighborhood rows, or they are charged with the violation of minor traffic regulations, like the regulation against skating on the streets. For these minor offenses there is usually an informal hearing before a probation officer.

The Juvenile Court and the Police Department.—There is need for very close coöperation between the juvenile court and the police in dealing with delinquent children. The police department can do much to promote or hinder the work of the juvenile court. Members of the police force, both men and women, who have understanding of the needs of childhood can become a very powerful factor in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. They are acquainted with and have it within their power to control many of the factors in the community that make for delinquency. The intelligent policeman on the beat should endeavor to make himself a friend to the children instead of being looked upon as their natural enemy.

There has been a great change in the past few years in the attitude of police departments toward juvenile delinquency. The police have become increasingly conscious of their responsibility in this all-important field. There is danger now that they may have taken over more than they can possibly attend to. In some cities, police departments have organized special divisions for the specific purpose of dealing with juvenile delinquency, and have set up unofficial systems of probation that sometimes work at cross-purposes with the juvenile court. The problem is essentially one of adjustment. The police department is now having the same difficulty in finding its place in the prevention of juvenile delinquency that the juvenile court experienced twenty years ago. In a well-rounded program for the prevention of child delinquency there is room for every community agency. There

is no more reason for believing that the socialized police department, any more than the visiting teacher, will put the court out of business. The court, the police department, and the school can supplement one another's work in the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

The Court Hearing.—In order that the juvenile court may be able to deal intelligently with the child, it must have complete information in regard to his family background, his environmental conditions, and his physical, mental, and religious status. This means a thoroughgoing social investigation made by a trained worker. It means a careful medical and mental examination. If the court is operating under criminal or quasi-criminal jurisdiction, it will be necessary to convict the child of a specific offense before making an investigation. Under these circumstances, a formal hearing must precede the investigation. The usual practice of juvenile courts exercising chancery jurisdiction is to hold a formal hearing for all cases and then continue the cases pending investigation. Courts exercising chancery jurisdiction can proceed with investigation, however, without establishing any specific offense.

The hearings in the juvenile court are as informal as possible. They are usually held in a small room like an ordinary business office. The judge sits behind a regular desk on the same level as the child. The case is presented by an officer of the court. The witnesses are then examined. The judge endeavors to adhere as far as possible to the rules of evidence. While the court may be a chancery court, the judge is anxious to have reliable evidence to establish the facts alleged in the petition. After the examination of the witnesses is completed, the judge turns to the child and asks what he has to say. In the majority of cases, the child makes a complete confession of the offense. The judge then turns to the parents and asks about their plan for the future of the child. After the hearing the judge may dismiss the case, he may suspend sentence, or he may continue the case with the un-

derstanding that the parents will follow a prescribed plan of treatment. He may place the child on probation or commit him to an institution or child-placing agency. Ordinarily the court will not remove a child from his home until every possibility has been exhausted of readjusting home conditions and of changing his habits by coöperative rehabilitation of the home. The court that has a clear understanding of its responsibilities recognizes that the removal of the child does not always solve its problem. If nothing has been done to remedy the conditions making for dependency, neglect, and delinquency, they will continue to influence the other children of the family. If the same conditions exist after the child has been returned to his home, they will undermine everything that has been done for him during his separation from it.

Careful Study Necessary for Effective Treatment.—In the treatment of juvenile delinquents, the first essential is a careful study of each individual case, including the family background and the physical, mental, and moral development of the child. If we do not know what his physical, mental, and moral difficulties are, we cannot take steps to remedy them. Agencies dealing with juvenile delinquents should, therefore, be equipped with adequate facilities for the making of thorough mental and physical examinations and with an adequate staff of social workers for the making of social investigations. The well-organized juvenile court to-day finds it necessary to have its own physicians and psychiatrists as well as its own staff of probation officers.

It is, unfortunately, the custom in many juvenile courts to give careful study only to those cases involving serious difficulties. This, we assume, is the result of a certain feeling on the part of the court that its most important function is the protection of society against the wrong-doer. The cases presenting the less serious problems are dismissed or turned over to some other agency. If there is reasonable ground for believing that the agency to which the first offenders are

referred will do some intensive work on them, the policy of the court is fully justified. We know, however, from practical experience, that many agencies to which cases are referred by juvenile courts do very little for them. In any program for the study and treatment of juvenile delinquency, the first offender should be given special attention. Work with first offenders usually yields the most hopeful results.

After careful study we sometimes find that the case is easy of solution. In many instances, the removal of a physical defect, the sending of the child to a school away from its own home for a short period, or a word of advice to the parents will be sufficient to remedy the child's difficulties. In most cases of juvenile delinquents who are actually brought before court, however, a long period of treatment will be necessary. This will mean more than a casual visit to the home once a month, or the reporting of the child to the court at widely separated intervals. It is a matter for serious consideration that at the present time there is so much of this type of probation. The worker who would make any headway in dealing with juvenile delinquents must have a sympathetic understanding of the children's difficulties and problems. He must work in the closest coöperation with the children's families, with their Church, and with their schools. He must make a ready use of every resource of the community that may aid him in his work. So many times workers conclude that they are working in coöperation with the Church and the school when they have made one visit to the priest or the school-teacher. The worker with juvenile delinquents should really look on his work as a part of a great coöperative undertaking. He will make very little progress if he cannot get other agencies interested in and working actively for the change of the child's habits of life.

Intelligent study and care of juvenile delinquents means a well-organized probation service in connection with our juvenile courts. It means a sufficiently large number of

trained probation officers, so that no officer may be required to deal with a maximum of more than sixty cases. The spoils system should have no part in the selection of probation officers; they should be selected according to merit and through a civil service examination. One of the greatest obstacles to the development of more intelligent treatment of juvenile delinquents in the United States is the selection of persons as probation officers who have no qualifications for the work.

The Juvenile Court and the Community.—The court cannot deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency alone. The success of its work will depend on the extent to which it arouses in all the organizations of the community a keen consciousness of their responsibility for the needs of childhood. The court must be an inspiration to all agencies to develop higher standards in their work for children. Its position is pivotal in the work of any community. So many times the juvenile court, instead of pointing the way, is a drag on the social work of the community. It is too ready to separate children from their own homes on the slightest pretext, and its probation service is a mere name. A large part of the work of the court, like that of other case-working agencies, consists in getting the other agencies of the community to assume a larger share of responsibility for delinquent children. The juvenile court needs the closest possible working relations with the Church, the school, and the health agencies of the community.

The Court and the Church.—The relations between the ordinary juvenile court and the Church are of the most casual order. Somehow or other, the probation officers do not seem to have been able to get their message over to the Church. This is not entirely the fault of the probation officers. Many times priests are so occupied with other duties that they are apparently unable to give systematic personal service to the cases referred to them by probation officers. This is a situation which certainly should be remedied.

There is no work of the priest which is more important than his mission to the erring ones of his flock, and there is surely no greater force for the spiritual improvement of straying children than the graces and blessings which the priest brings into their lives. What the delinquent, whether he be juvenile or adult, needs most of all is spiritual reformation. And what can be more essential in changing the attitude of the delinquent toward life than the realization that crime is a violation of the order which God established, that it is an offense against the Supreme Ruler and most beneficent Friend of all mankind, that it develops the lowest at the expense of the highest attributes of man's nature? Reformation will be only superficial if it is not animated by a deep consciousness on the part of the offender of his relations to God and of his duties to the Supreme Maker and of the final end of all life. No matter how hard we may try, we can find no motives so powerful in human lives as the love and fear of God.

The Court and the School.—The child's progress in school is generally a fairly reliable index of his habit-formation in general. Any drift on the part of the child outside of school reflects itself quickly in his school work. The teacher, therefore, as has been emphasized more fully in another chapter of this book, is in a very advantageous position to detect early symptoms of undesirable habit-formation. Moreover, the teacher, by reason of her daily contact with the child, has an unusual opportunity of influencing his behavior. The probation officer must, therefore, really depend more on the teacher than on his own visits for the character-development of the children under his care.

Well-organized juvenile courts have their own physicians and psychiatrists for the physical and mental examination of children. When the court does not have its own medical and psychiatric service, it should have working relations with other organizations of the community willing to supply it. It is impossible to make any plan for the care of the

delinquent child without a thorough study of his physical and mental health.

The Volunteer in the Court.—Many juvenile courts have become exceedingly skeptical as to the possibilities of volunteer service. This is due to their past experience with volunteers. In moments of enthusiasm, hundreds of men have volunteered for service with juvenile delinquents, and we know from actual experience and observation that only a small number of them ever rendered any real service. Many times the volunteer feels that he has done everything expected of him when he has visited the home and talked with the boy's parents. When the volunteer establishes personal contact with the boy, he is all too often inclined to satisfy himself with a piece of casual friendly advice. Very little is done in the way of real personal service. In volunteer work for juvenile delinquents, women have rendered much more effective service than men.

In a number of cities, volunteer women workers are doing excellent work for delinquent girls. The types of volunteer service in which women workers seem to have been most successful are the tutoring of young girls who are retarded in their school work, the religious instruction of children in their own homes, the interesting of parents in the religious and educational welfare of their children, the providing of educational opportunities, and the finding of employment for delinquent girls.

In some places, men volunteers have done very good work in developing employment, educational, and recreational opportunities for semi-delinquent and delinquent boys, and also in bringing them into closer contact with the Church. On the whole, it has been much more difficult to interest men than women in this work.

The failure of volunteers in dealing with juvenile delinquents has been due to a number of causes, one of which is faulty methods of selecting volunteers. It has been assumed that volunteers could be selected in large groups

rather than by careful study of the qualifications of the individual. There has been a tendency to measure success in terms of quantity rather than quality. Another cause is that there has been very little systematic training of volunteers. It has been taken for granted that the only requisites for work with delinquents were a good heart and a willingness to serve. Volunteers in this, as in other fields of service, need training just as much as full-time workers do. A third cause is that in many instances the persons selected to supervise volunteers have had practically no case-work training. They are incapable of rendering systematic service themselves, much less of teaching others to do so. We cannot expect good work from volunteers without supervision by trained case workers.

Recreation and Delinquency.—Many children get into mischief because they do not have proper opportunities for play. If they were given more chance for healthy, invigorating recreation, fewer of them would become delinquents. Many times their first acts of delinquency represent an effort to throw off the surplus energy which should find a natural outlet in wholesome play. In addition to providing a useful diversion during leisure time, play can be made a great means of character-building. Many students of child life recognize that the hours that the child spends at play are just as important for character-formation as the hours spent in the class-room. They contend that we can no more commit the direction of the child's play to novices than we can the teaching in the class-room. Wholesome, supervised play is one of the best means of insuring the child against a career of delinquency.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Is the court hearing children's cases in your city a separate court or a division of another court? Is the children's court judge elected especially for the work of this court? Does he give his entire time to the work?

2. What types of cases come within the jurisdiction of the children's court of your community?

3. What are the relations between the children's court and the police department in your city?

4. What are the working relations between the children's court and the private social agencies of your community?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ADDAMS, JANE, HERRICK, C. J., JACOBY, H. L., and OTHERS, *The Child, the Clinic and the Court* (Papers given at the meeting commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Chicago Juvenile Court) (New Republic, Inc., New York, 1925).

BELDEN, EVELINA, "Courts in the United States Hearing Children's Cases" (1920), Publication No. 65, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

BRECKINRIDGE, SOPHONISBA P., and JETER, HELEN R., "A Summary of Juvenile Court Legislation in the United States" (1920), Publication No. 70, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

COOLEY, EDWIN J., "The Making of a Delinquent," *Catholic Charities Review*, IX (1925), No. 10.

FAGAN, BERNARD J., *Why Boys and Girls Go Wrong* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1924).

FLEXNER, BERNARD, and BALDWIN, ROGER, *Juvenile Courts and Probation* (The Century Co., New York, 1914).

HEALY, WILLIAM, *The Practical Value of the Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquency* (New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1922).

"Juvenile Court Standards" (A report of the committee appointed by the Children's Bureau, August, 1921, to formulate juvenile court standards), Publication No. 121, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

"Juvenile Court Statistics" (A tentative plan for uniform reporting of statistics of delinquency, dependency and neglect) (1926), Publication No. 159, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

LENROOT, KATHARINE F., and LUNDBERG, EMMA O., "Juvenile Courts at Work" (A study of the organization and methods of ten courts) (1925), Publication No. 141, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.

LOU, HERBERT H., *Juvenile Courts in the United States, Their Law and Practice* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1926).

- MORAN, FREDERICK A., "Where Are We in Probation Work?" *Catholic Charities Review*, X (1926), No. 7.
- MORAN, FREDERICK A., "Is There a Unit Cause for Crime?" *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), No. 4.
- MURRAY, RAYMOND W., "The Delinquent Child and the Law" (A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America, Washington) (1926).
- PIGEON, HELEN D., "The Policewoman and the Juvenile Court," *Catholic Charities Review*, X (1926), No. 6.
- "Probation Evaluated," *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), No. 5.
- STERN, LEON, and STERN, ELIZABETH G., *A Friend at Court* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1923).
- VAN WATERS, MIRIAM, *Youth in Conflict* (Republic Publishing Co. New York, 1925).

CHAPTER VIII

FACTORS IN THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Delinquency and Early Habit-Formation.—It is a well-recognized fact among students of juvenile delinquency that the juvenile court is still very far from attaining its ideals. All recent studies have pointed out that crime is essentially a problem of youth. They remind us very forcefully that a fairly large percentage of the adults who find their way into criminal courts and crowd our penal institutions are simply giving expression to habits and tendencies acquired in the formative period of their lives. We find, moreover, that many of the adult offenders have had juvenile court records; that the state has already extended its protective arm to them through the instrumentality of the juvenile court; that efforts have been made by the probation department of the court and a number of coöperating private agencies to change their habits of life and to prevent them from entering on careers of delinquency. In spite of all that could be done through probation and institutional care, they have continued on the downward course and have become a serious menace to social well-being.

Successes and Failures of Juvenile Delinquents.—The recent study made by Drs. Healy and Bronner entitled *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*, is the most serious challenge to those interested in work with juvenile delinquents. It is based on a study of three groups of juvenile repeated offenders whose after-careers were traced: 920 whose cases were originally studied by the authors between 1909 and 1914 and followed up in 1921-1923; 400

young male repeated offenders appearing in the Boston juvenile court in 1909-1914 and followed up in 1923; and 400 boys, also repeated offenders, studied by the authors in Boston in 1918-1919 and followed up by them in the course of their regular work. For statistical analyses the authors also made use of 4,000 cases consisting of 2,000 offenders studied by them in Chicago between 1909 and 1915, and 2,000 studied in Boston from 1917 to 1923.¹

Of the 920 Chicago cases originally studied between 1909 and 1914, reliable information was obtained in regard to the after-careers of 675 between 1921 and 1923. In studying the after-careers of these juvenile delinquents, an effort was made to find out whether they were successes or failures. Individuals were considered successful when they were living in the community without any known detriment to the community and had engaged in no criminality. Failure, on the other hand, meant actual delinquency. "All individuals having adult court records and adjudged guilty, as well as those committed to adult correctional institutions were regarded as failures."²

Of the 675 Chicago cases, 373, or 55 per cent, were failures and 302, or 45 per cent, were successes; of the males, 256, or 61 per cent, were failures and 164, or 39 per cent, were successes; and of the females, 117, or 46 per cent, were failures and 138, or 54 per cent, were successes.

In the course of their study, Drs. Healy and Bronner have made a very significant comparison between the proportion of successes and failures in Boston and in Chicago. They have compared the careers of 420 males studied in Chicago between 1909 and 1914 with those of 400 males appearing before the Boston court.

Since the authors had not personally studied the boys appearing in the Boston Court between 1909 and 1914, they

¹ William Healy, M.D., and Augusta F. Bronner, Ph.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

felt that there might be some criticism of their procedure in comparing a studied with an unstudied group. In order to prevent this criticism, they utilized 400 Boston juvenile male repeated offenders studied by them in 1918 and followed up since that time.

It was found that of 420 Chicago cases, 209, or 50 per cent, had adult court records and of the 400 Boston cases, 84, or 21 per cent, had adult court records; 157, or 37 per cent, of the Chicago cases, and 25, or 6 per cent, of the Boston cases had been committed to adult correctional institutions.

In regard to the after-careers of the 400 Boston cases studied in 1918, it was found that 103, or 26 per cent, had adult court records and 63, or 16 per cent, had received adult commitments. It will be noted that in the second Boston group there was an increase of 6 per cent in the number of those having adult court records. The increase in the adult commitments was, however, much more marked. The commitments amounted to 6 per cent of the total in the first Boston group as compared with 16 per cent in the second group. The larger number of commitments in the second Boston group was due to the greater seriousness of the crimes committed and to the growing tendency on the part of the Boston courts to administer more serious punishments.³

Drs. Healy and Bronner have brought to light some very interesting facts in regard to institutional commitments as a means of dealing with juvenile delinquents. They recognize that there are several possibilities for error in the figures that they cite, but the figures are sufficiently impressive to make us think seriously as to whether our present methods of institutional treatment do not suffer from many serious handicaps. Institutional commitment is a comparatively easy method of ridding ourselves of the delinquent for the time being. But how far does it remove the factors making for delinquency? How far does it result in changing the character and habits of life of the delinquent? How far is it

³ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-37.

possible to secure satisfactory results from institutional care without good case work with the family while the child is in the institution and with the child and family after he is discharged? In the experience of Chicago and Boston Dr. Healy endeavors to find at least a partial answer to these questions.

Of the 420 Chicago boys, 311, or 74 per cent, had been committed to juvenile correctional institutions; of the 311 committed, 219, or 70 per cent, were failures, while of the 109 not committed, only 37, or 34 per cent, were failures; of the 255 Chicago girls, 169, or 67 per cent, were committed to juvenile correctional institutions, and among the 169 there were 92 (54 per cent) failures, while among the 86 not committed, only 25, or 29 per cent, were failures.

In the first Boston group of 400 boys, 118, or 29 per cent, were committed to juvenile correctional institutions, and of these 34, or 29 per cent, had adult court appearances as compared with 219, or 70 per cent, of the Chicago group. In the second Boston group of 400 boys, 159 received juvenile commitments, and of these 52, or 33 per cent, later appeared in the adult courts.⁴

From the limited study represented by the above figures it is difficult to draw any general conclusions in regard to institutional commitment as a method of dealing with juvenile delinquents. The figures, however, should be an incentive to institution executives to reconsider seriously their whole régime. From actual experience in dealing with a large number of cases, we are inclined to believe that the lapses of those who have been under the care of institutions have been due more to the lack of after-care than to fundamental defects in the institution discipline.

There is one phase of institution discipline that deserves very special consideration and that is the need for more intelligent classification of juvenile delinquents. At present many institutions bring together in one group delinquents of va-

⁴ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-78.

rious ages and types. Under such a system it is clearly impossible to give the children the care and attention they need. It is impossible, moreover, to prevent the younger children from becoming contaminated by contact with those who are older and more hardened.

It has been assumed rather generally that there are certain factors in child life that play a very important part in juvenile delinquency. The factors to which most attention has been given are heredity, poverty, mental deficiency, immigration, and lack of proper home training. At different times special stress has been laid on one or another of these factors.

Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.—On the basis of their Chicago and Boston cases, Drs. Healy and Bronner have endeavored to find out what part different factors play in juvenile delinquency and in the reform of the delinquent. What relationship is there, if any, between juvenile delinquency and heredity, between delinquency and poverty, between delinquency and mental deficiency, between delinquency and immigration, between delinquency and lack of proper home training? These questions they have endeavored to answer on the basis of their eighteen years of experience in dealing with juvenile delinquents.

Heredity.—Data obtained by Drs. Healy and Bronner in regard to the family background of 675 young repeated offenders show 316, almost half, having normal mentality. In 359 cases there was evidence of alcoholism, delinquency, or mental abnormality in the family background. The data in regard to the relationship between family background and the success or failure of the young offender are, however, more significant. It was found that 57 per cent of the males with normal heredity were failures, and 43 per cent successes; 74 per cent of the males with abnormal heredity were failures, and 26 per cent successes; 42 per cent of the females with normal mentality were failures, and 58 per cent successes; 55 per cent of the females with abnormal

mentality were failures, and 45 per cent successes. Commenting on these figures, the authors say: "With the males, although there is a larger measure of success where the family history is normal, yet the differences are not very great between this and where the history shows unfortunate traits . . . Thus," they claim, "there is no indication that traits found in the immediate forbears determine to any marked degree what we call success or failure. Taking the largest figures for percentage of failure we find it comes among males where there is a family history of abnormal mentality, but even these figures cannot be interpreted aside from the context which shows that for the males there was only 17 per cent better measure of success where the family history was normal."⁵

In studying the relationship between heredity and juvenile delinquency in London, Dr. Cyril Burt not only looked to the parents of the delinquents, but also to the grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. On the basis of this study, Dr. Burt found that 36.9 per cent of the families of delinquents showed one or more physical defects, including "such illnesses or constitutional states as are indicated by the occurrence of epilepsy, tuberculosis, rheumatism, hyper-thyroidism and syphilis." One or more intellectual defects were shown in 25.4 per cent of the families of delinquents; 24.4 per cent showed one or more temperamental defects marked by pathological symptoms; and 54.3 per cent showed temperamental defects with moral symptoms. "Within the whole group of delinquents studied," says Dr. Burt, "there were only 11 per cent whose relatives were sentenced for any crime and only 19 per cent whose relatives whether sentenced or not were known to have committed some gross offense. As many as four-fifths of the children could plead no history among their kindred of any definable crime."⁶ The author, therefore,

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁶ Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1925), p. 50.

concludes that crime in itself is not inherited. Certain human instincts are inherited in varying degrees of strength. Certain individuals may, therefore, have inherited certain instinctive weaknesses which lessen their powers of resistance. These become victims of crime more easily than those with a stronger natural endowment.

Poverty.—Poverty does not seem to have played a very decisive rôle in the cases of juvenile delinquency studied by Drs. Healy and Bronner. In this, as in their earlier studies, they have been inclined to discount the relationship between poverty and conduct. The authors state that they found poverty present in about 20 per cent of all their cases. Extreme poverty militates against success in dealing with the delinquent, while economic ease and cultural opportunities somewhat favor moral recovery. Less extreme differences in material well-being do not have any marked influence for or against reform.⁷ The findings of Drs. Healy and Bronner present a rather striking contrast to some of the earlier findings. Thus Breckinridge and Abbott, in their study of the delinquent child in the home, found that nine-tenths of the delinquent girls and three-fourths of the delinquent boys came from the homes of the poor.⁸ As a result of his London study, Burt states that “over one-half of the total amount of juvenile delinquency is found in homes that are poor or very poor and the figures show very trenchantly . . . that poverty makes an added spur to dishonesty and wrong.”⁹

All experience and all studies show that a greater number of poor than of the well-to-do come into conflict with the law. This does not establish any direct connection between crime and poverty, but it does show that the poor are exposed to more temptations, that they live under more crowded conditions, that they do not have the same opportunities for enjoying the normal pleasures of life as those in more

⁷ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁸ Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, Chap. IV.

⁹ Cyril Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

fortunate circumstances. The child who has no opportunity for play at home, whose playground is the street, where he comes into contact with boys who have already acquired habits of wrong-doing, who has no money to buy the things that boys of his age are accustomed to have is certainly more liable to get into trouble than the boy who is brought up in a normal, healthy environment. Experience, moreover, shows that the offenses committed by the poor are much more easily detected than those of the rich.

Defective Mentality.—A few years ago there was a very pronounced tendency to over-stress the relationship between defective mentality and crime. Dr. Goddard found that 66 per cent of the inmates of the Newark Detention Home were feeble-minded. He contended that the one vital factor in crime was defective intelligence; other investigators claimed that over 80 per cent of both juvenile and adult delinquents were feeble-minded.

The findings of Drs. Healy and Bronner do not concur with those of earlier investigators in regard to the relationship between mental defect and delinquency. Of their 4,000 repeated juvenile offenders, 72.5 per cent were found to be definitely normal. The figures given by Burt for juvenile delinquents in London are still more conservative. He found that not more than 8 per cent of the juvenile delinquents whom he examined were mentally defective. Of the 675 repeated juvenile offenders studied in Chicago, Drs. Healy and Bronner found that 108, or 14 per cent, were feeble-minded, and 35, or 5 per cent, were suffering from psychoses. Among the mentally normal, the percentages of success and failure were about equal; among the mentally deficient, success was not more than a third.

The fact that 33 per cent of the mentally subnormal among Dr. Healy's Chicago cases turned out successfully leads one to believe that there is hope of reforming the mentally subnormal. In fact, their chances of success do not seem to be much worse than those of the mentally normal—33 per cent

being successful as compared with 50 per cent of the latter. The foregoing figures reveal how little is done for the special care of the mentally subnormal. Of a total of 758 cases studied by Drs. Healy and Bronner in Chicago, 283 were mentally abnormal, and of these only 38, or 13 per cent, were being held in appropriate institutions; 165 clearly abnormal cases were never committed or did not remain in appropriate institutions, and the additional 75 psychopathic cases were not given any special treatment. This is fairly typical of what is being done for the mentally abnormal in most of our states. It is not any wonder, therefore, that a comparatively larger number of them succumb to the temptations that are thrown in their paths and that fewer of them rise after they have fallen.¹⁰

Physical Defects and Delinquency.—Many writers have looked upon delinquency as a disease, to be treated by physicians and hospitals rather than by courts and other disciplinary institutions. Studies of juvenile delinquency have shown that a very large percentage of juvenile delinquents were victims of physical defects. Dr. Burt found that 70 per cent of the delinquents studied by him in London were suffering from physical defects and that nearly 50 per cent were in urgent need of physical treatment. He found that physical defects were 1.25 times as frequent among juvenile delinquents as among non-delinquents who were from the same school and exposed to the same environmental conditions.¹¹ Any person who has had experience in dealing with juvenile delinquents can cite case after case in which physical defects marked the beginning of the child's downfall. The child who is suffering from a physical defect easily becomes discouraged and loses interest in his school work. Having lost interest in his school work he begins to play truant, and truancy gradually leads to the development of other bad habits.

¹⁰ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹¹ Cyril Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

The findings of Drs. Healy and Bronner do not bear out the conclusions of earlier writers on the relationship between physical defects and delinquency. They found that of the 1,000 cases studied in Chicago, 27 per cent were free from significant physical defects; and that of the same number of cases studied in Boston, 32.7 per cent were free from significant physical defects. The studies of Glueck and Ayres showed that from 75 to 80 per cent of the school children of New York had physical defects of the same order as juvenile delinquents of Chicago and Boston. From their study of the physical condition of juvenile delinquents, Drs. Healy and Bronner have drawn the following very significant conclusion: "Based on physical examination we may say that in general the delinquent group is closely similar to the general group of young people in so far as standards for comparison exist. Physically the delinquent does not form a separate group."¹²

The conclusions of Drs. Healy and Bronner should be a warning to the student to be very careful in making general statements on the relations of physical defects to delinquency. Physical defects are so bound up with other factors in child life that it is exceedingly difficult to isolate them and measure exactly the extent of their influence. We can, therefore, realize how one-sided has been the view of those who have looked upon crime as a physical disease for which scientific medical care was the only remedy. While we must do everything to improve the physical condition of juvenile delinquents, we must recognize that physical defects play only a small part in their delinquency. Physical defects sometimes discourage children in their school work and thereby contribute indirectly to juvenile delinquency.

Juvenile Delinquency and the Home.—The most important of all the factors in juvenile delinquency is lack of proper home training. The dangers and difficulties to which child life is exposed in the modern city impose a very severe

¹² William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

strain on the home. The opportunities and responsibilities of the home have been enlarged a hundredfold. In our complex civilization, the child must look more and more to the home for the guidance and inspiration necessary for his success in life. If the home fails in its essential responsibility of child-training, it is very difficult for any other agency to take its place. Outside forces, such as more adequate recreational facilities, more rigid public control of commercial recreation, better standards for child labor, and compulsory school attendance, can relieve the pressure on the home, but they can never make up for the lack of home training. Discussing the relations between defective home discipline and juvenile delinquency, Dr. Burt says, "of all environmental conditions, indeed of all the conditions whatever that find a place in my list of causes the group showing the closest connection with crime consists of those that may be summed up under the head of defective discipline."¹³

Taking 1,000 cases each in Boston and Chicago, Drs. Healy and Bronner found that only 5 per cent of these young repeated offenders in Boston, and 10 per cent in Chicago, came from what might be considered good homes. Of the 500 cases in which particular attention was given to the relations between causative factors and success or failure, it was found that 169 came from homes in which undesirable influences were brought to bear on the child. The boys who came from improper homes seemed to fare much worse than the girls. About 50 per cent of the girls coming from such homes were failures, whereas about 70 per cent of the boys were failures. The relatively larger proportion of successes among the girls than the boys was due, according to the authors, to the fact that a greater number of the girls were removed from their own homes and cared for elsewhere.¹⁴

Any program for the reduction of juvenile delinquency must begin with the home. It must aim to give parents a

¹³ Cyril Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128.

better understanding of their responsibilities. It must devise ways and means of acquainting them with the dangers to child life in our time. It must seek to provide parents with constant instruction on the care and upbringing of their children. But how are we to get our message over to parents? There are two great agencies the assistance of which should be most invaluable in interpreting their responsibilities to parents, namely, the church and the school.

The Church As a Preventive Agency.—The Church, through its preaching, through the personal contact of priests with the people, and through the ministry of the confessional, offers the best approach to the home. In order to be truly effective, the message of the Church must be clothed in very concrete terms. Both in his preaching and in the ministry of the confessional, the priest should endeavor to make concrete applications of Christian teaching to the ordinary problems that confront the rank and file of the people in their own homes and in their daily business, social, and professional associations. Some time ago, the writer attended a social workers' meeting at which the executive of a protective agency discussed the dance-hall problems of the community. Nearly all the workers in attendance at the meeting were well acquainted with the problems presented. During the course of the meeting, the following question was asked: How can we get this information over to parents, how can we acquaint them with the dangers to their children's morals that lurk in the commercial recreation agencies of cities? If we could only make our sermons and our advice in the confessional more concrete, if we could only base our guidance of the laity on more exact knowledge of their ordinary everyday problems, we certainly would be making a most helpful contribution to a better understanding of the duties of parenthood. A great many parents are harsh or indifferent in dealing with their children because they are not conscious of the wrong they are doing. They are not careful about their children's associations because their attention has never been

called to the serious consequences that might follow from their neglect. They do not give their children any individual care or study in their childhood days.

Enlightenment from the priest may be a solution in the case of the ordinary church-goers, but what of the large numbers of persons who never darken the inside of the church and on whom the responsibilities of religion rest very lightly? All that we can say about these people is that they are in the position of lost sheep whom the good pastor must gather into the fold. Many of them could be reached by a more systematic census and the development of an active lay apostolate in the parish. Other agencies are now endeavoring to compete with the Church in organizing a plan of life for the juvenile delinquent. The plan which they present is frequently in conflict with Christian principles and practices. The young are sometimes told that their difficulties are due to a conflict between the theory of morals they have learned at home and their own natural instincts, and that there is nothing basically wrong about the gratification of a natural instinct. Many observant probation officers have noted the extent to which mothers now have recourse to courts and other social agencies for advice and assistance in disciplining their children. In time past, mothers in a similar plight would have had recourse to the pastor of their parish church. Why this change of attitude on the part of the people? Is it possible that priests are so busy with routine duties that they no longer have sufficient time to attend to many of the difficult moral and spiritual problems arising in their parishes?

One of the things that impresses the student most about children who come before the juvenile court is their utter lack of religious instruction. A large number of Catholic children before the court have never received their First Communion. They are not acquainted with the very fundamentals of their religion. In many cases, their families are entirely out of touch with their parishes. Clearly there should

be some organized method of getting into touch with these spiritually neglected children within the confines of the parishes. It should not be necessary to have them get into court before establishing contact with them. An effort is being made in many cities at the present time to reach these neglected ones of the fold through Christian doctrine leagues of one kind or another. Such organizations are doing a work of social service and their activities should be extended and enlarged.

The Parent-Teachers Association.—The parent-teachers association in connection with the school can be most helpful in giving parents a clearer understanding of their responsibilities. It helps to bring the school and the home closer together. It gives a great many mothers an opportunity of profiting by the experience of the teachers. Moreover, in this day when persons in every vocation are endeavoring to profit by the experience of others in the same vocation, why should not mothers be in a position to profit by the experience of other mothers?

The work of the parent-teachers association can be made more effective if it goes hand in hand with an organized visiting-teacher service. The visiting teacher is the natural link between the school and the home. She brings to parents the experience of the school and vice versa. She has an opportunity of dealing with wrong habits before they have acquired a firm grip on the child. She is, therefore, in a much more favorable position than the ordinary probation officer. With many of the children who come into court the normal agencies of the community have already failed. Their habits are fairly well fixed and the problem of their reformation is by no means easy.

The Socialized Health Agency.—The socialized health agency can be a most useful asset in bringing to the home a fuller knowledge of its responsibilities. Child welfare centers, while dealing primarily with health, cannot separate their work entirely from general habit-training. With the development of medical social service programs, an increasing

number of hospitals are coming to look upon health as a part of a larger program of family welfare work.

Education of the Public.—The education of the public in regard to the dangers to the health and morals of children in the community is a necessary part of any program for the control of juvenile delinquency. It is only by this means that we can expect to control the conditions making for delinquency. It is only by education of the public that we can keep children in school and prevent them from entering industry prematurely, that we can secure proper control over commercial recreation, that we can really enforce the laws governing the rights of children, and that we can secure reasonably high standards in the agencies, both public and private, dealing with children.

The rate of juvenile delinquency in any community is a fair measure of the progress that has been made in educating that community concerning the needs of childhood.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Study five cases in the records of the children's court illustrating the influence of various factors in delinquency.
2. Secure five cases from your children's court which show the effectiveness of probation work.
3. What conclusion may be drawn from the last annual report of the children's court of your community in regard to the relation between recreational facilities in the different sections of the city, child labor, working mothers, and juvenile delinquency?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AYD, JOSEPH J., S. J. "Concerning the Crime Problem," *Catholic Charities Review*, X (1926), No. 6.
- BURT, CYRIL, *The Young Delinquent* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1925).
- COOLEY, EDWIN J., "Crime, A Problem of Youth," *Catholic Charities Review*, X (1926), No. 9.
- HEALY, WILLIAM, and BRONNER, AUGUSTA F., *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926).

- MOLEY, RAYMOND, "Crime Commissions and the Crime Program,"
Catholic Charities Review, X (1926), No. 8.
- PARSONS, P. A., *Crime and the Criminal* (Alfred A. Knopf, New
York, 1926).
- SUTHERLAND, E. H., *Criminology* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadel-
phia, 1924).

CHAPTER IX

THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF CRIME

Interest in Crime.—To the average man, crime represents a challenge to the present order of society. It endangers his property, the security of his home, and even his very life. Crime in the last analysis is really an undermining of all his fundamental social interests. It is an attack on all the things that men are endeavoring to secure through law and the ordinary processes of government. For the criminal, there is no law or order. He is in revolt against them.

Because crime represents an attack on what is nearest to him, the individual finds it difficult to take a reasonable attitude toward it. He is inclined to feel toward crime as he does toward the enemy on the field of battle. Hence it is that he demands severe punishment for the criminal. He does not wait to consider to what extent severe punishment has been effective in converting the criminal from his evil ways and deterring others from following his example.

Crime is a subject of perennial interest, not only because it threatens our most fundamental human institutions, but also because it reveals in a very striking way some of the most dismal failures of human life. The student of human behavior or the person who is in any way charged with the guiding of human life will always be interested in deviations from the proper standards of living and thinking. He will be interested in finding out as far as he can why it is that certain individuals go wrong, why they use for their own destruction the talents that God has given them.

From an economic standpoint, crime is of interest because of the vast expenditures which it entails. "Crime,"

says Cooley, "costs the United States ten thousand million dollars a year. Hundreds of thousands of persons have to be employed; thousands of court houses and prisons have to be built; millions of dollars have to be employed in providing vaults, locks and burglar alarms and more millions have to be provided for burglar insurance and bonding employees."¹

In 1910, Warren I. Spalding, secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association, estimated that the detection, correction, and punishment of crime required one-tenth of all the money raised by taxation for all purposes. This was larger than the amount expended for any other purpose except education.²

Definition of and Responsibility for Crime.—There is no other field of social service in which progress has been so slow as it has in that of dealing with crime. "Notable progress has been made," says Parsons, "in the theory of criminal science and criminologists are agreed on many points of importance. However, with the exception of a few communities we find little tendency to put into practice the discoveries of scientific workers in the field of criminology."³

In its simplest terms, crime may be defined as a violation of law. Not every violation of law, however, is a crime. In every country, we find laws against stealing, but the taking of another man's property does not always constitute stealing. The man who takes another man's hat or his umbrella by mistake is not guilty of theft. He has not violated any law because he has not taken the property of another willfully. The insane man may commit acts of violence, but they are not crimes because he is not a free agent. We cannot, therefore, conceive of crime apart from knowledge and free will. When an individual violates any law, we must assure

¹ Edwin J. Cooley, *Probation and Delinquency* (Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York, 1927), p. 5.

² John Lewis Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (The Century Co., New York, 1926), p. 29.

³ P. A. Parsons, *Crime and the Criminal* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926), p. 4.

ourselves as to how far he was responsible before we can deal with him as a criminal. This principle is basic in all our study and treatment of crime. In all our studies we draw a sharp line of demarcation between the offender who is capable of acquiring that degree of self-control necessary to make him once more a useful citizen of society and the individual who by reason of some mental defect or disease or confirmed habits of wrong-doing has lost his self-control, either entirely or in great part, and who must therefore in the interest of society receive permanent custodial care.

Students of ethics recognize that there are degrees of accountability in human behavior. If an individual is to be completely accountable for his actions, they must be performed with perfect knowledge and be perfectly under the control of the will.⁴ The individual's accountability may be lessened by a physical or mental defect or by ignorance or by the untoward social conditions under which he is compelled to live. A person who is suffering from epilepsy is not as responsible for his acts as one who is in perfect health. The epileptic is usually quite irritable and easily flies into a rage. The low-grade moron is not as responsible as the person with normal mentality. The immigrant who is unacquainted with American law is not as responsible for violation of the law as the native-born citizen who is acquainted with the law.

Forces in Operation against Crime.—Every social group finds it necessary to make rules or laws governing the conduct of its members. Such rules or laws are necessary in order that the group members may be able to attain their common objective. The group secures the enforcement of its laws through what are commonly known as sanctions, of which the most common are education, custom, and the fear of punishment. It is an evidence of weakness on the part of a group to rely too much on punishment for the enforcement of its rules.

⁴ Michael Cronin, *Science of Ethics* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1922), p. 40.

When punishment is emphasized too generally, it is an indication that the more fundamental sanctions are losing their power and that the basis of group life is being undermined. The very nature of group life supposes that the members are convinced of the value of its fundamental purposes and that they recognize the need of doing the things necessary for the attainment of these purposes. The influence of fear must therefore always remain exceedingly limited in the maintenance of group order. Its influence must be confined to a small number of persons to whom the ordinary sanctions for law and order do not appeal.

Like other groups, the state makes laws for the promotion of the welfare of its members. The state is the only institution that gives expression to the interests of all its citizens. It must therefore assist them in attaining certain fundamental objectives which they are unable to attain as individuals or through less inclusive groups. As a broad and inclusive definition of law, we cannot find anything better than that given by St. Thomas. According to the evangelical doctor, law is a rule of reason for the common good promulgated by public authority. In this sense law obliges the citizens to follow or abstain from a certain line of conduct. What the citizen is asked to do must be just, useful, and morally possible. The law cannot oblige a citizen to do something which is flagrantly unjust; it cannot oblige him to do something which would be clearly detrimental to the common well-being; it cannot impose on him an obligation which it is impossible for him to meet. In order to bind the citizen, law must be promulgated by the ruling authority of the state, which in a democracy means the majority in power.

Until recently law was rather limited in its scope. It was confined to the protection of the elemental interests of life, liberty, and property. As society became more complicated, as the possibilities for conflict of interests developed, the state was compelled to define human rights in greater detail and therefore to expand its law-making functions.

New Functions of the State.—With the rise of modern industrialism, in addition to its original functions of protecting life, liberty, and property, the state has been compelled to take on the functions of a great welfare agency. No longer do we look to man's sense of duty alone in defining the rights of children as against their parents or in defining the rights of employees against employers. We have developed an elaborate code of laws defining the rights of children and the rights of parents. The state has also been compelled to restrict individual liberty in many ways in the interests of the common welfare. Our various public corporations are no longer free to charge any rate the traffic will bear. The rates are fixed by public service commissions. The manufacturer of foodstuffs must reckon with the pure food laws in the marketing of his goods. In the United States it has been made illegal to manufacture or sell intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. The great increase in the number of laws passed in recent years has naturally tended to increase the possibilities for violation of laws. In the rural community, the taking of a few apples from a neighbor's orchard was looked upon as a good lark, but in the modern city, the stealing of a few apples from a fruit store is sufficient to bring a boy into juvenile court. This is one illustration of many of the possibilities for conflict with the law in a modern city.

In sociological terms, crime is a violation of a social interest which the ruling power of the state has considered sufficiently important to embody in the form of a law. It is a revolt of the individual against something that the majority considers necessary for the well-being of all the citizens of the state. It means that the individual places his own immediate pleasure above the common welfare. There is a question as to how far the individual who violates the civil law is guilty not only of a crime but also of a sin against God. As a general rule, the person who violates a law is guilty of a sin as well as of a crime. It certainly would be

most undesirable to advocate as a principle that our laws bind the individual either to observe them or to suffer the penalties attached to their violation. Whether there are some laws which do not bind in conscience and the violation of which does not involve a moral wrong appears to be a matter of question. It seems to the present writer that our legislators in this country try to bind people as far as they can. They endeavor to appeal to the conscience and sense of right of the ordinary citizen to secure the observance of laws they enact. We cannot imagine any legislator relying on the fear of punishment alone to secure the observance of a law.

A classification of crimes means a classification of the major social interests, which the state endeavors to protect by law. These are life, the family, property, industry, health, liberty, education, religion, and general welfare. Every state is interested in making life more secure for its citizens. It is interested in the conservation of the family, and it therefore defines the rights and responsibilities of parents and children. The state encourages its citizens to set aside for the future a part of their present earnings, but without the protection of law there would be no inducement to save. It is very important for the public well-being that industry should prosper and develop, but it is equally important that the lives of citizens should not be sacrificed in the interest of industrial progress. We find it necessary to have an industrial code to protect the interests of workers in their relation to industry. In our modern communities, the hazards of ill health have become so great that it has been found necessary to have many new kinds of health legislation. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly are looked upon as among the most outstanding conquests of democracy. They are guaranteed by the federal Constitution and the constitutions of the various states. This guarantee, however, does not authorize the citizen to abuse his freedom by striking at the fundamental institutions of democracy. Modern governments provide educational opportunities for

all their citizens; they compel parents to send their children to school until they have attained a certain educational standard. Through free libraries and museums, different countries provide for their adult population opportunities for cultural education. Under the head of religion, governments endeavor to prevent the circulation of literature and the showing of pictures and plays that seriously undermine the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. They see to it that their citizens are not interfered with in the practice of their religion. In the promotion of general welfare, law has come to occupy a very large place in our time. In other sections of this book we have referred in detail to the various kinds of laws that have been passed to meet the needs of families and children in need of special care. In the chapter on juvenile offenders, we discussed the various factors contributing to the development of criminal careers. As we said in that chapter, it is no longer possible to discuss crime in terms of any one factor. At various times, students have endeavored to seek an explanation of crime in terms of physical or mental defects, heredity, poverty, or social conditions. All these one-sided explanations of crime are now rather generally discredited. It is realized that crime is a many-sided phenomenon; that it is a product of all the factors that go to make the individual in a modern environment.

Individual Approach to the Study of Crime.—In studying the development of a criminal career, we are in the last analysis studying the life habits of an individual human being. We are studying the life of an individual whose acts are his own and whose behavior is the result of his own responses to the environment in which he has found himself. There is no simple method by which we can predict the character of his responses in any particular situation. It is true that nature may not have given him a very strong body, so that he may have to go through life with many physical defects. He may develop, however, compensatory powers of mind that will enable him to overcome his physical

weaknesses. He may have an inferior mind, but, by his spiritual training and placement in a position suited to his needs, become a useful person. There is work in the world for persons of all grades of mental caliber, and one of our great tasks is to find for the individual the type of work for which he is best qualified. A great many people overcome the economic handicaps of poverty and lead decent and self-respecting lives. When a man becomes a victim of crime, it is not necessarily because of physical, mental, or economic handicaps. These handicaps expose him to more serious temptations or weaken his power of resistance, but they do not mean that he is necessarily going to become a wrong-doer.

The following plan given by Mr. Cooley will illustrate the type of information which should be secured in regard to an offender before making a plan of treatment for him.

"Part I.

Legal History

"Part II.

Social History: A Study of the Background

Father; Father's Family; Mother; Mother's Family; Siblings; Developmental History; Family and Neighborhood Conditions; School History; Religious Training; Employment History; Delinquencies; Recreation, Habits and Associates.

Study of the Individual: Mental and Physical Examination.

Physical; Mental; Emotions; Sentiments and Beliefs; Personality Traits.

"Part III.

Summary of Diagnosis

Problem; Physical; Mental Abilities; Balance; Personality; Background; Heredity; Developmental; Home Conditions; Habits; Elements of Causation; Prognosis; Final Comment."⁵

Criminal Statistics.—The ordinary student is anxious to

⁵ Edwin J. Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

know how far crime is increasing or decreasing in the United States. But this question, simple as it seems, is most difficult to answer in the light of our present information. The most obvious difficulty in answering it accurately is the fact that so many of the crimes committed are not matters of public knowledge. Every effort is made by persons committing crimes to keep them secret, and their ability to do so depends very largely on their position in the community. Undoubtedly a larger proportion of the crimes committed by the poor become public than of those committed by the rich. Again, definitions of crime vary from state to state and from year to year. An increase in the number of laws means greater possibilities for committing crime. Different communities also differ in their standards of law enforcement. Even in the same community, there is great variation from time to time in the zeal of the police department and the rigor of the courts.

There are three types of records which are not direct enumerations of crimes but on which judgments in regard to crime rates are based—police statistics of arrests, judicial statistics of prosecutions and convictions, and statistics of prisons.⁶

Some cities keep records and print reports on crimes known to the police. Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick made a study, based on police statistics, of crime rates in the United States and England in 1917. He found that per hundred thousand population, Chicago had seventeen times as many murders as London, nineteen times as many felonious homicides, seven times as many burglaries, and sixty times as many robberies. New York City had eight times as many homicides as London, five and one-half times as many burglaries and thirty times as many robberies. Some other offenses were, however, more frequent in English than in American cities.

Massachusetts is the only state in this country which has published annual reports of arrests over a long period of

⁶ Edwin H. Sutherland *Criminology* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1924), p. 35.

time. Figures secured from a number of cities in the United States show that, per hundred thousand population, there were 11,182 arrests in Washington in 1920; 7,942 in Boston; 5,720 in Baltimore; 4,003 in Philadelphia; and 3,499 in Chicago. These statistics reveal crime rates in different cities which certainly are at variance with our general impressions. They are probably a more useful index of the vigilance of the police than of the crime rate. In addition to the activity of the police in making arrests, we must reckon with the different definitions of *arrest* in different cities. In some places, a person is reported arrested if taken into custody; in other places, he is not reported arrested unless arraigned or held for hearing in court. In some places, summonses are included in statistics of arrests, in other places they are not.⁷ In spite of their present unreliability, records of crimes known to the police seem to have greater possibilities than any other basis of statistical information.

Judicial statistics of prosecutions and convictions are frequently used as an index of crime. These judicial statistics are usually included in the criminal reports of the attorneys-general of the various states. Outside of Massachusetts, they include only major crimes which have been prosecuted in the higher courts. In discussing figures on prosecutions and convictions, it is well to recognize their limitations. Prosecutions depend on courts, and arrests on the vigilance and honesty of the police department. Convictions depend on the attitude of the public and the efficiency of court procedure.

Statistics as to prisoners were compiled in connection with each decennial census of the United States from 1850 to 1890 inclusive. Because of lack of uniformity in returns, the figures on prisoners collected by the census in 1850, 1860, and 1870 are valueless. They indicate the need for standardization in collecting statistics. In 1904, 1910, and 1923, the census enumeration of prisoners included commitments during a specified period, as well as the prisoners present on a given date. Un-

⁷ Edwin H. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

like the earlier enumerations, only sentenced prisoners were included. The Census of 1904 included persons imprisoned for non-payment of fines. This group of prisoners was omitted in 1910. The following figures give the number of sentenced prisoners from 1910 to 1923, exclusive of those sentenced for non-payment of fines. For the country as a whole, the prison population decreased from 111,498 in 1910 to 109,619 in 1923. This decrease in actual numbers meant a much larger decrease in the ratio of prisoners to the general population, namely, from 121.2 per hundred thousand in 1910 to 99.7 in 1923. As to how far this decrease is due to changing standards of law enforcement or more general use of probation, we have no means of telling.⁸

Such statistics as we have on crime in the United States at the present time are very useful for administrative purposes in that they give us an index of the volume of work done by various agencies dealing with crime. They do not, however, give us an exact measure of the total volume of crime in the country. In order to secure more exact figures, it has been suggested that the United States Bureau of the Census establish a crime registration area similar to the birth registration area, from which uniform information may be secured on the volume of crime. This plan would involve some difficulties in view of the varied definitions of crime in different states, but the difficulties are by no means insuperable. It has been further suggested that each state organize a criminal registration to serve the double purpose of facilitating the detection of criminals and compiling uniform statistics on crime throughout the state.

Main Objectives in Treatment of Crime.—1. *Expiation.* Society has three main objectives in the treatment of the criminal, namely, expiation, reformation, and deterrence. All three objectives are an essential part of any crime program.

⁸ *Prisoners, 1923*, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, p. 11.

It is impossible to eliminate altogether the thought of expiation in dealing with crime. What the criminal has really done is to place his own immediate pleasures and satisfactions above the principles of law and order. In order to change the course of his behavior, he must be conscious of his wrong-doing. Now consciousness of wrong-doing immediately begets a desire for atonement. This is merely the statement of a general principle governing all social relations. When we offend a person and are sorry for the offense, we immediately desire to do something to convince the person offended of the reality of our sorrow. When society, then, forces the criminal to expiate his crimes, it is not doing any more than is done in our social relations every day. It is giving expression to fundamental instincts that are necessary for individual and group life.

In its efforts to get the criminal to expiate his crimes, society's attitude must be governed by intelligent and orderly procedure. Its attitude toward him must not be governed by hatred or vengeance. It must do for the criminal what is best suited to his needs, at the same time not overlooking its fundamental responsibility for law and order.

2. *Reformation of the Criminal.* This brings us to the second aim which society keeps in mind in treating the criminal. Reformation and forgiveness are objectives for which modern criminology is indebted to the Church. The Canonical Courts of the Church were the first legal agencies to emphasize reformation and forgiveness in dealing with crime. The Church, moreover, has always depended on individual approach, sympathetic understanding, and the graces of religion as the great means of changing the offender's attitude toward his responsibilities. The sacred tribunal of penance is fundamentally a tribunal of mercy and forgiveness. It gives the sinner opportunity of repenting and obtaining pardon for his sins and the grace to avoid sin in the future. Through the Sacrament of Penance, the Church car-

ries on Christ's mission of mercy. "I came," He said, "not to call the just but sinners to penance."⁹

In its emphasis on individual approach, sympathetic understanding, and the changing of attitudes and habits of the criminal, the state is simply carrying out the traditional teaching of the Church. It will make a fatal mistake, however, if it depends on natural motives alone in its treatment of the criminal. Religion must go hand in hand with modern methods in penology. The criminal even more than the ordinary person needs the grace and the inspiration of Christian teaching in order to resist temptation, lead a decent and self-respecting life, and save his soul.

3. Deterrence of Crime. The third objective that society has in mind in the treatment of crime is the deterring of others from becoming law-breakers. The leaders of the classical school of penologists believed that in order to attain this objective, it was necessary that the punishment be proportioned to the crime. They believed that crime, like all human actions, represented a nice balancing of pleasure and pain. While this theory has long since been discredited, there is still a rather general belief in severe punishment as a means of deterring persons from committing crime. Every serious outbreak of crime in an American community brings a widespread demand for severe punishment and a violent reaction against probation and parole and other modern methods of dealing with the criminal.

Punishment has its place in dealing with crime, but it must be administered humanely and intelligently. When his crime is known, society punishes the criminal by the loss of his social status. Any additional punishment that may be administered must depend on a careful study of the background and needs of the individual. Trial, conviction, and probation are just as much forms of punishment as imprisonment. If the individual is not deterred from committing crime by the loss of his reputation or by being com-

⁹ *St. Luke V. 32.*

pelled to order his life according to a plan formulated by an effective probation department, the chances are that he will not be influenced by severe punishments.

Among the early methods of punishing the criminal were physical torture, branding, social degradation, financial loss, and death. All these methods, with the exception of the death penalty, are now merely of historic interest. Most modern countries still adhere to the death penalty. The number of crimes for which the death penalty is imposed has, however, been steadily reduced. Twelve of our states have abolished the death penalty entirely, and in twelve others its use is limited to murder alone. In twenty-four of the thirty-six states retaining capital punishment, the court may substitute life imprisonment for it. The death penalty in the United States takes three principal forms, hanging, electrocution, and asphyxiation.¹⁰

The advisability of imposing a death sentence is a moot question among students of criminology. The question centers mainly around the value of capital punishment as a deterrent. The proponents of capital punishment believe that it has a very large influence in deterring persons from committing serious crimes. The opponents contend that, since most capital crimes are committed in passion, the prospect of a death penalty has very little influence. Figures from states that have abandoned capital punishment do not supply any information for judging one way or the other. The chances are that the advocates of capital punishment would not be so insistent if they could be assured that dangerous criminals would be segregated for life. They fear that, under present conditions, these criminals may become the beneficiaries of executive clemency after a number of years.

From the very earliest times, English cities had local jails for the detention of persons awaiting trial. These traditional English institutions were brought over to America by the first colonists. With the abolition of the older forms of punish-

¹⁰ John Lewis Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

ment like whipping, the pillory and the stocks, the various states adopted the practice of having prisoners serve out their sentences in the local jails. This practice led to very serious abuses. In the ordinary jail, there was no employment for prisoners, and health and moral conditions were very bad. Children, first offenders, and hardened criminals were permitted to associate under conditions that were most revolting. An effort was made to improve the conditions of the jails by separating persons serving sentence from those awaiting trial. It was soon realized, however, that one institution could not care adequately for so many different types of persons. In the second decade of the last century, movements were organized to provide special care for two types of persons, one being the juvenile offender and the other being the person guilty of a more serious crime who was serving a long sentence.

Development of State Penitentiaries.—In another chapter, references were made to the development of juvenile reformatories in the United States. The development of state penitentiaries is a very interesting chapter in the history of penology in the United States. The American penitentiary, in its beginnings in Pennsylvania, gave expression to what was then a new attitude toward crime. The Quakers felt that what the prisoner needed most of all was meditation, and in order to have an opportunity for meditation, they felt that he should live in seclusion. Therefore, the two state penitentiaries erected in Pennsylvania in the early twenties of the last century provided for solitary confinement. The Western Pennsylvania Penitentiary did not provide prisoners with any opportunity for work. The Eastern Penitentiary, which was erected later, provided for small workshops in a certain number of cells. Before the Pennsylvania system had been in operation for a very long period, there was considerable dissatisfaction with it. A new plan was therefore tried out at Auburn, New York. The Auburn plan classified the prisoners

into three groups. The first group was composed of hardened criminals, who were compelled to spend night and day in their cells without any work. The second group was composed of the less hardened criminals, who were to spend part of their time in solitary confinement and another part in labor. A third group, consisting of the more hopeful offenders, worked together in silence during the day but were housed in separate cells at night.

The Irish System.—While the controversy between the advocates of the Pennsylvania system and those of the Auburn system was still under way, a new system based on a new philosophy was introduced from England and Australia. This new system was known as the Irish system. It embodied various elements, such as the indeterminate sentence, the mark system of measuring good conduct, and parole, which were intended for the purpose of effecting the reformation of the prisoner. It offered rewards rather than punishments as incentives to reformation. The first institution in this country that endeavored to carry out the principles of the Irish system was the Elmira State Reformatory in New York, which was opened in 1876. Elmira was intended for young adults who were guilty of a first offense and who were therefore particularly susceptible to reformatory influences. Courses in general and vocational education were organized to supply what was lacking in the prisoner's background and to prepare him for more remunerative work after discharge. Following the example of the Elmira Reformatory, the other states organized state reformatories not only for men but also for women. Reformatory methods, moreover, were gradually introduced into the state prisons, to such an extent, in fact, that the traditional line of demarcation between the reformatory and the prison has practically disappeared. Indeed, some state prisons are more advanced in their reformatory methods than some reformatories. A large number of those for whom the reformatory was originally

intended are now placed on probation, so that there is practically no difference between the type of prisoner sent to penitentiaries and that sent to reformatories.

The Indeterminate Sentence.—An important element of the Irish system as applied in the Elmira Reformatory was the indeterminate sentence. The indeterminate sentence is a device by which the termination of imprisonment is left, within limits of maximum and minimum penalties fixed by the court or legislature, to an administrative board.

It assumed that an administrative board which has an opportunity of studying the prisoner's record while in prison is in a better position to determine the length of his confinement than the court. There has been some question as to whether the court should be authorized to fix a maximum and minimum sentence. It is contended by many that the sentence should be absolutely indeterminate; that is, that there should be no maximum or minimum limit. In the present state of public opinion, however, our legislatures would scarcely be willing to give such broad powers to administrative boards.

While indeterminate sentence and parole are theoretically distinct, in practice they are very closely associated. In order to make the indeterminate sentence really effective, we must have a well-developed system of parole. If the administrative board is satisfied that a prisoner is going to be followed up carefully, with assistance in finding employment and reestablishing himself in the community, it can feel much satisfaction in releasing him before he has served his maximum sentence.

The first general indeterminate sentence law was passed by the State of New York in 1889. Under this law, the courts were free to use the indeterminate sentence or not, as they pleased; and as a matter of fact, they rarely used it. In 1901, New York passed a law requiring courts to impose an indeterminate sentence on first offenders. In 1921, thirty-seven states had passed indeterminate sentence laws.

Parole.—Another element of importance in the Irish system was parole, or as it was then known, “ticket-of-leave.” Parole, according to Sutherland, involves the following principles: “(a) reduction in the time served within the walls of the institution and the substitution of a life in general society with certain conditions; (b) assistance to and supervision over the person by the penal or reformatory institution or some other agency such as a parole board during this period of conditional liberation; (c) the purpose of this assistance being partially to determine whether the prisoner on parole continues to live up to the conditions imposed upon him and partly to assist him to live up to those conditions.”¹¹ In 1920, parole laws had been passed by forty-one states. There is also a system of parole for federal prisoners. In some jurisdictions, very little use is made of parole laws, while in others they are administered very efficiently.

Parole really means the conditional release of the prisoner after he has satisfied certain requirements prescribed by law or the regulations of a board. The legal conditions necessary for parole usually are that a prisoner must have received an indeterminate sentence (persons guilty of more serious crimes are, therefore, usually excluded); that he must have served a specified part, usually one-third to one-fourth, of his sentence; and that he must have a position awaiting him on the outside. The conditions formulated by boards charged with the administration of parole vary considerably from state to state. Some boards assume that all prisoners who have satisfied the minimum requirements of the law should be given a chance; others base their decision on a careful study of each case, with particular emphasis on the behavior of the prisoner while in the institution.

As yet, no completely satisfactory plan has been devised for selecting prisoners for parole. Conduct in the institution is not always a reliable index of eligibility. Some of the very worst criminals make the most exemplary prisoners.

¹¹ Edwin H. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

In order to be successful, parole must be administered according to the highest case-work standards. Parole officers must understand the history and background of the prisoners; they must establish friendly contact with them; they must assist them in the difficult task of readjusting themselves after they are released from prison. The prisoner on parole is very liable to become discouraged by the unfriendly attitude that he so frequently encounters. He very easily gets the impression that society is not willing to give him a chance. Many people look with suspicion on him. He finds it exceedingly difficult to secure employment. The prisoner should be able to look to the parole officer as a friend and counselor who is always ready to assist him in the many difficulties he faces. In most states, parole officers have so many persons under supervision that they find it impossible to give really efficient service. No parole officer can be expected to do good work for more than fifty or sixty cases.¹²

City and County Jails.—In all discussion of the work of our penal and correctional institutions, the state prison receives an undue amount of attention. The number of persons committed to state prisons is, after all, very small compared with the number committed to county or municipal jails and workhouses. Almost 80 per cent of the total number of prisoners committed in the United States between January 1 and June 30, 1923, were committed to county or municipal jails and workhouses; 61.4 per cent of the prisoners committed to the county and city institutions during this period were committed for terms of less than one year.¹³

On the basis of these facts, our county and city jails present far more serious problems than state prisons and reformatories. Many of those serving short sentences in county or municipal jails are compelled to live in idleness during the period of their confinement. Hardened offenders are per-

¹² Edwin H. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-553.

¹³ *Prisoners, 1923*, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, pp. 22-122.

mitted to associate with young men in their teens who have committed slight misdemeanors. One not infrequently finds in a local jail a man who has had as many as twenty-five short commitments during his lifetime. The basic difficulty arises from the fact that courts look to the offense rather than the offender. The old and confirmed offender who has no thought of reformation receives the same number of days as the young man who is guilty of his first offense.

Penal Farms.—In recent years an increasing number of cities and counties have established penal farms for short-term offenders. On these farms, the prisoners have an opportunity of engaging in useful and productive labor and of acquiring the habits of industry that are so necessary for their rehabilitation. In some states, the cities and counties send their short-term offenders to state farms.

The penal farm can no more deal with offenders *en masse* than any other penal institution. Those in charge of penal farms must have complete information in regard to the background of the prisoners under their charge, and sufficient ability and training to use this information for purposes of rehabilitation. The penal farm, of course, depends very largely on the court for its success. It must look to the probation department of the court for information in regard to the family, health, social, educational, and religious background of the prisoners. It must assume, moreover, that the court, on the basis of information supplied by a competent probation department, will give the offenders the type of treatment best suited to their needs. To put the matter very briefly, a penal farm cannot attain its purposes without a socialized court, and socialized courts for adults are still few and far between.

Probation.—There is no intelligent program for the treatment of crime which is so significant, yet so little understood and so misrepresented, as probation. To many, probation means "letting the criminal off easy," a kind of "soft snap," a sort of judicial clemency exercised in favor of those who

have influence in the community. Every new wave of hysteria against crime aims its attacks at probation, which, to a large section of the public, means a new method of coddling the criminal.

Those who criticize probation and its methods are constantly demanding severer punishment as the only means of suppressing crime. They are not aware of the fact that the older methods of dealing with crime by suppression have had more than a century of trial and apparently have not been successful. Crime has continued to increase in spite of the multiplication of penal institutions, and it cannot be said that our penal institutions have been too lenient in dealing with the criminal. According to the subcommittee on the causes of crime of the New York State Crime Commission, very little change has taken place in the past century. The methods of 100 years ago are still in vogue, so that if imprisonment has failed to suppress crime, it is not because of the application of modern methods.

Probation does not mean coddling the criminal or giving him a "soft snap." It means the application of the best that social case work, medicine, psychology, psychiatry and religion have to offer in the study and treatment of crime. It means the substitution of scientific for rule-of-thumb methods. A probation department that is guided by scientific procedure makes a very careful study of all the factors that have entered into the developmental history of the offender. It should study the offender's legal history, including an analysis of the present offense, his previous court records, his social history, including personal history, education, family, neighborhood conditions, employment, recreation habits, religious training, and practices. The probation department should study the individual's personality developments, namely, heredity, physical condition, character and conduct, manner, and appearance.¹⁴ As a result of its careful study, the probation office is ready to present to the court a plan for the treatment of the in-

¹⁴ Edwin J. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

dividual delinquent. The plan does not necessarily mean the placing of the offender on probation. Of the 3,053 offenders investigated by the probation bureau of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York during a period of twenty-three months, only 18 per cent were placed on probation. "The confirmed alcoholic, the drug addict and the habitual criminal," says Cooley, "were not considered suitable for probationary treatment."¹⁵

When an offender is placed on probation, he must submit to rather rigid discipline. "Probationers," according to Cooley, "should be required to report weekly, except during periods of unemployment, when daily visits to the probation office would be advisable." According to the same author, visits should be made to homes of probationers at least every two weeks, and their places of employment should be visited at least once a month. Probation, when properly administered, means the development of a detailed plan of life for the offender and very close supervision of all his activities.

When the offender is committed to a penal institution, a copy of the investigation made by the probation department should be forwarded to the institution. If the officers of our penal institutions were supplied with careful records of all the criminals under their charge, and if they could be taught how to profit by the investigations, it would make a world of difference in their work. At the present time, prisons and reformatories have practically no worth-while information in regard to their inmates. It is only on the basis of a careful investigation such as can be made by trained probation officers that it is possible to classify offenders intelligently for purposes of treatment. The investigation will reveal those who need hospital care in institutions especially equipped for this purpose. It will bring to light those who should be cared for in institutions for the mentally defective. It will show that there are certain types of offenders who, by reason of their criminal history, are a menace to society and

¹⁵ Edwin J. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

must be segregated permanently. Mr. Cooley found that 68.2 per cent of the offenders investigated by the probation bureau of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York "were either irregular in their observances or had no contact whatever with religious organizations."¹⁶

Reformative Influence of Religion.—If, as every Christian believes, religious reformation is the basis of all reformation, then religion must be the most important factor in dealing with the criminal. Crime, in the last analysis, is a violation of a moral obligation. It is a sin against God. The criminal is either ignorant or neglectful of his moral responsibilities. We cannot expect to develop in him a whole-souled respect for law and order and to make him a useful member of society until he realizes that crime is an offense against the law of God written in his conscience, revealed to him by Christ, and taught by Christ's Church.

While we are making use of all that science has to offer in changing the life habits of the offender, we must not overlook the supreme importance of religion. What the offender needs most of all is a change of his attitude toward life's responsibilities. For this he needs a plan of life, and we cannot have any plan of life without reckoning with man's origin and final destiny.

In dealing with offenders in our penal institutions, on probation, and on parole, we have not made the best use of the teachings and the graces of religion. Probation officers all too frequently maintain only the most casual contacts in dealing with their probationers. Religion, moreover, does not as a rule have the honored place it should occupy in our penal institutions. Chaplains are frequently called upon to give to routine duties time and energy that should more properly be given to personal work with prisoners. In a great many instances, chaplains are occupied with work on the outside and find it possible to devote only part of their time to work with prisoners.

¹⁶ Edwin J. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

There is no type of pastoral work that is so exacting as work with offenders. The priest who is engaged in this type of work must represent the very highest type of spiritual leadership. He must be tactful, patient, and kind. He must have special training in the study of problems of human conduct. He must be the type of person whom offenders will look to as a hero. He must be free to give his entire time to the work, and he must be permitted to carry out his work without unreasonable rules and regulations. He must have access to the prisoners at all times and must be free to conduct religious services for them on Sundays and week-days. Attendance at religious services on Sundays should be accepted as an essential part of the prison régime. It is understood that prisoners should not be required to attend services other than those of their own faith.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. To what extent has probation been made a part of the programs of courts of criminal jurisdiction in your community?
2. Under what conditions are prisoners paroled from the penal and correctional institutions of your state? How is parole administered?
3. Does your state provide separate institutions for first offenders?
4. On what basis would you decide whether crime is increasing or decreasing in your community?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BURT, CYRIL, *"The Young Delinquent"* (D. Appelton & Co., New York, 1925).
- COOLEY, EDWIN J., *Probation and Delinquency* (Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York, 1927).
- CRONIN, MICHAEL, *Science of Ethics* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1922).
- GILLIN, JOHN LEWIS, *Criminology and Penology* (The Century Co., New York, 1926).
- KIRCHWEY, GEORGE W., "Breasting the Crime Wave," *Survey*, LVIII (1927), No. 2.
- "Modern Crime: Its Prevention and Punishment," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1926.

- PARSONS, P. A., *Crime and the Criminal* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926).
- Prisoners, 1923*, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
- ROBINSON, LOUIS N., *Penology in the United States* (The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1923).
- STUTSMAN, JESSE C., *Curing the Criminal* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926).
- SUTHERLAND, EDWIN H., *Criminology* (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1924).
- WINES, FREDERICK HOWARD, *Punishment and Reformation* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1919).

CHAPTER X

BETTER HEALTH FACILITIES

Interest in Health.—Health is a topic of perennial interest. When we meet our friends our first inquiry is about the condition of their health. Without health we cannot give out the best that is in us. We cannot live wholesome and normal lives. Health affects the clarity of our thinking and the efficiency of our work. As modern industry has come to study its wastes and inefficiencies, it has found that many of them were due to the prevalence of ill health among its wage-earners. It has found that loss of time by wage-earners through ill health means a serious financial loss. The machine never grows sick or tired, but it cannot do its work without the human operator. Change of operators from day to day inevitably affects the output of the machine. Efficient industrial leaders have, therefore, become just as much interested in maintaining the health of their workers as in keeping their machines in good repair.

With the enactment of workmen's compensation laws, employers have learned that good medical service reduces the cost of industrial accidents. They have since learned that good medical service reduces the cost of sickness so far as industry is concerned. Hence it is that we find employers of labor on a large scale developing organized medical and nursing programs for their workers. They are undertaking these programs not through any philanthropic idealism, but because it is good business.

Basis of Public Health Program.—The protection of the health of the people has become a most important governmental function. It is an essential part of the work of govern-

ment in the conservation of human life. Because governments are in a position to use the findings of modern science for our protection, we are now relatively free from plagues and pestilences. We can be fairly sure that the water we drink and the milk that is brought to our doors in the morning do not contain any deadly germs. Our local health departments give us a reasonable assurance that the food we buy in the market is free from impurities. Our cities are gradually improving their methods of disposing of sewage and waste materials so as to prevent the possibility of their becoming a menace to the health of the people. The securing of pure water, pure milk, pure food, and provision for the disposal of sewage and waste are the simple elements of a public health program.

Vital Statistics.—The ordinary governmental unit goes much further than the securing of the fundamentals of a public health program. It endeavors to keep an exact register of births and deaths. Without such a register, it cannot get a measure of the well-being of its people or the results of its work for the protection of their lives and health. Compulsory registration of births and deaths is now a matter of law in most of the states.

Forty-one of the forty-eight states have satisfactory registration laws and actually register at least 90 per cent of all births. These states have qualified for admission to the registration area of the United States as defined by the Bureau of the Census, and they contain 89.9 per cent of the total population of the country.

Reporting Communicable Diseases.—Our various governmental health units, moreover, are becoming increasingly rigid as to the reporting of infectious and contagious diseases. The list of diseases that must be reported by physicians and hospitals usually includes typhoid fever, measles, whooping-cough, smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis. An increasing number of states are making syphilis a reportable disease.

There is very little use in reporting infectious and contagious diseases if some provision is not made for isolation and treatment. In certain types of diseases complete isolation is necessary. Every city, therefore, should have a contagious disease hospital, or have at its disposal the contagious disease wards in a general hospital. A contagious disease program further calls for laboratory facilities for the examination of specimens sent in by physicians, a follow-up service in the home, and physicians and nurses to assist private physicians in the care of cases and to provide free care for those unable to pay.

Public health authorities are interested in detecting the early symptoms of disease so that they may bring it under control before it makes its ravages felt. They ask nursing and social-work organizations to coöperate with them in bringing symptoms of infectious and contagious diseases to their attention. All the more important cities now have their public health clinics for free diagnosis and treatment of venereal diseases.

Health Education.—With the change of emphasis from cure to prevention, education has come to assume a more significant place in health programs.

“To an increasing degree it is being realized that in the future the prevention of disease must be brought about largely by popular health education. The importance of educational work in the control of tuberculosis, diphtheria, smallpox, malaria, the venereal diseases and other disorders has long been appreciated.”¹

Most of the health departments of American cities carry on educational campaigns for the prevention of disease through newspaper articles, pamphlets, weekly bulletins, and exhibits. The educational work of the health departments is supplemented by private associations like councils of so-

¹ “Municipal Health Department Practice for the Year 1923” (1926), Public Health Bulletin No. 164, United States Public Health Service, p. 52.

cial agencies, chambers of commerce, and various civic clubs.

Health education has long been recognized as an essential part of the curriculum of the grade school. The older method of teaching health was to give the children a certain amount of textbook information on human anatomy and physiology without much relation to practical health habits. The newer methods of health instruction emphasize the importance of preparing the children for healthful living.

Infancy and Maternity Hygiene.—During the past decade, there has been a very widespread interest in the hygiene of infancy and maternity in the United States. This has been due very largely to the work of the United States Children's Bureau, created by Act of Congress in 1913 to investigate and report on all matters pertaining to the welfare of children. The Bureau has made a number of significant studies of the mortality of children under one year of age. It found that the mortality rate of infants in a number of the cities studied was far greater than the mortality rate in the Birth Registration Area of the United States. In 1916 for the census "area of birth registration," which included eleven states and the District of Columbia, the infant mortality rate was 101 per thousand live births. The Children's Bureau found that in the cities of Manchester, New Hampshire, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania, the mortality rates were 165 and 134 respectively per thousand live births.

Studies made by the Children's Bureau showed that the maternal mortality rate in the United States was higher than in most other countries. For the years 1920-1922, the rate of maternal mortality in the United States was 7.3 per thousand live births. The rate in England and Wales and the rate in Germany for the same period were 4.0 and 4.6 respectively per thousand live births.²

Studies made by the Children's Bureau in Baltimore, Maryland, Gary, Indiana, and two rural counties in Wisconsin

² "Maternal Mortality," Publication No. 158, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 63.

showed that a very large percentage of mothers did not have any prenatal medical care. Nearly half (47.5 per cent) of those studied in Baltimore and 70.2 per cent of those studied in Gary received no prenatal medical care. In one rural district in northern Wisconsin, only one-eighth of the mothers secured any prenatal medical care.³

The interest aroused by the publications of the United States Children's Bureau induced a large number of cities to make more adequate provision for prenatal medical care for mothers and also more adequate medical care for infants and children of pre-school age. The publications of the Children's Bureau played an important part in the passing of the Sheppard-Towner Act by Congress in 1921. Under the provisions of this act, the federal government aids the states financially in promoting infancy and maternity hygiene. Forty-three states have accepted the requirements necessary to receive federal aid under the Sheppard-Towner law.

There is a considerable amount of positive evidence to show that, with proper prenatal care, the maternal mortality rate can be reduced to a great degree. A study of 8,743 mothers who received prenatal care through the Maternity Center Association of New York City in coöperation with the Henry Street Settlement showed that intensive care given to the mothers during the period of pregnancy brought immediate results. The maternal mortality rate from all puerperal causes, except septicemia, in this group of mothers was 2.06 per thousand births as compared with a rate of 2.84 in the Borough of Manhattan as a whole. In Boston, the Instructive Nurse Association reduced the maternal death-rate for the year 1920 from 7 to 2 in every thousand births.⁴

Beside prenatal care, it is most important that mothers have proper medical care during and after childbirth. The standards formulated by the conferences held under the auspices of the United States Children's Bureau in 1919,

³ "Maternal Mortality," Publication No. 158, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, p. 83-85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

among other things, call for "confinement at home by a physician or properly trained and qualified attendant or in a hospital; nursing service at home or at the time of confinement and during the lying-in period, or hospital care. Daily visits for five days and at least two other visits during the second week by a physician or nurse from the maternity center. At least ten days' rest in bed after normal delivery with sufficient household service for four to six weeks to allow the mother to recuperate. Examination by the physician six weeks after delivery before discharging the patient."⁵

It is no easy matter to get many mothers to avail themselves of the facilities for maternity care at their disposal. Many of them would rather use midwives than go to a hospital or call a physician to their homes. In some states, more than a third of the births are attended by midwives; and among the colored population, the percentage of births attended by midwives runs much higher.

In view of the large number of births attended by midwives, the regulation of midwifery is a matter of serious concern in the various states. In thirty-seven states, the midwife is required to register with the local health office. Only in eighteen states is a license required for registration. Midwives are licensed on the basis of an examination, but only ten states have specific educational requirements. By reason of the lack of training courses and proper educational standards, very few midwives in this country have the qualifications necessary for the important work in which they are engaged.

Tuberculosis.—"The great reduction in mortality during the last twenty years from 200 per one hundred thousand population in 1904, in the registration area, to 94 per one hundred thousand in 1923 has led a great many of the unthinking in public health work to believe that tuberculosis

⁵ "Minimum Standards of Child-Care, Adopted by Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare," Publication No. 62, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, pp. 7-8.

is practically conquered," says Dr. Patterson of the National Tuberculosis Association.⁶ "This belief," Dr. Patterson goes on to say, "is very far from the truth. In 1923 tuberculosis accounted for 7.6 of all the deaths that took place in the registration area of the United States. It was exceeded only by influenza and pneumonia which caused 12.5 per cent and cardiac diseases which caused 14.3 per cent of all the deaths."

Creditable progress has undoubtedly been made in the control of tuberculosis during the past twenty years through the activities of the various tuberculosis societies, city departments of health, and public and private nursing associations, but the fundamental problem of early diagnosis still remains. A large number of the cases that are brought to the attention of clinics and tuberculosis hospitals are in such an advanced stage that very little can be done for them. A periodical medical examination is the surest means of securing an early diagnosis of tuberculosis.

A number of private tuberculosis societies and city departments of health have organized health camps for children who are predisposed to or have incipient tuberculosis. In many cities, special institutions have been established to deal with incipient cases of tuberculosis. In nearly all the states, tuberculosis has been made a reportable disease. Comparatively few cities, however, have an adequate medical and nursing staff to follow up cases that have been reported. In many of the rural communities, facilities for the care of tuberculosis patients are still entirely lacking. The only institution for the care of tubercular patients in many rural counties is the county infirmary. Only by the establishment of intercounty hospitals can any progress be made in dealing with the problem of tuberculosis in rural communities.

⁶ "Municipal Health Department Practice for the Year 1923," Public Health Bulletin No. 164, United States Public Health Service p. 195.

Control of Venereal Diseases.—In recent years, the control of venereal diseases has come to take an important place in public health programs in the United States. In summing up the results of the movement for the control of venereal diseases, Dr. William T. Snow, general director of the American Social Hygiene Association, says, "Of 227 cities surveyed in 1913 only 7 required reporting of venereal diseases, 4 had free venereal disease clinics and only 3 provided hospital care for dangerous cases. In 1913 one city examined food handlers for venereal diseases and only 46 cities out of the entire group provided free laboratory diagnostic facilities for syphilis. It is also true that in 1913, 8 of the larger cities still had official methods for inspecting prostitutes as a venereal disease control measure and that general education measures regarding venereal disease were practically non-existent. By contrast 99% of the cities studied in 1923 had regulations for notification and show increasing use of reports, 82% have free diagnostic facilities, 100% provide free clinical treatment . . . 65% provide hospital or other facilities for isolation of dangerous cases, 79% recognize the venereal diseases as one of the major subjects in their public health education programs. Today only four states in the Union have failed to pass the abatement and injunction law and every city recognizes the soundness of the policy of eliminating commercial prostitution and the fallacy of attempting to control venereal diseases by any system of periodic examination of prostitutes."⁷

State activity for the control of venereal diseases was given a great impetus by the Chamberlain-Kahn Act passed by Congress in 1918. This act provided federal aid for states meeting certain specific requirements set up by the interdepartmental social hygiene board. In order to secure federal aid, the states must have laws or regulations making venereal dis-

⁷ Wm. T. Snow, M.D., "Venereal Disease Control," in "Municipal Health Department Practice for the Year 1923," Public Health Bulletin No. 164, United States Public Health Service, p. 203.

eases reportable to the local health authorities, penalties must be provided for physicians and others failing to report, cases of venereal diseases must be studied to discover the source of the infection, there must be provision for the control of infected persons who refuse to cooperate in preventing the spread of the infection, and the travel of infected persons must be prevented. By 1922 all the states had satisfied requirements necessary to receive federal aid under the Chamberlain-Kahn Act.

In recent years, eight states, including Alabama, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, have passed laws requiring a certificate of physical fitness or of freedom from venereal disease as a prerequisite for obtaining a marriage license. Some of these laws are practically dead letters. A recent study made by the Russell Sage Foundation shows that an honest and sincere effort has been made to enforce the Wisconsin law. The physicians of the state, on the whole, are rather well satisfied with the results secured by the law.⁸

On sociological or ethical grounds, there can be no serious objection to state laws requiring a certificate of physical fitness for marriage. These laws, when properly enforced, should prove an excellent means of protecting innocent persons against contamination. Every experienced social worker has come into contact with cases of women whose health has been practically ruined by venereal disease contracted from their husbands.

In the early stages of the movement for the control of venereal diseases, there was a decided tendency to emphasize the legal and medical aspects of the problem. Great emphasis was placed on the importance of legislation for the compulsory reporting of venereal diseases and of adequate medical facilities for their treatment. In recent years, more attention is being given to the educational aspects of the problem. It

⁸ Fred S. Hall, *Medical Certification for Marriage* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925), pp. 39-45.

is realized that we cannot make much headway through law and medicine if the young are not properly instructed in regard to the dangers of venereal disease and if they do not have a proper understanding of the sex instinct and its whole relationship to family life. This education must not consist merely of the imparting of knowledge. It must give proper motives for the control of sex as well as of other instincts. It must show what can be done to acquire control through habit-formation and the graces and teaching of religion.⁹

Public Health Nursing.—No program of public health can be complete without the services of the public health nurse. The services of the nurse are most essential in the control of communicable diseases. She follows up cases reported by physicians and advises families in regard to prophylactic measures. She aids the physicians in carrying out their plans for the care of patients in attendance at the public health clinics. The nurse is an important part of any program for the hygiene of infancy and maternity. She brings the educational mission of the child welfare center to large numbers of mothers who need advice and encouragement in the care of their own health and the health of their children. The doctor diagnoses the physical defects of the school child; the nurse brings his diagnosis to the home and helps parents in carrying out his recommendations. The public health nurse finds her way into the homes of the sick and advises them in regard to cleanliness, diet, and facilities for medical care. In some instances, the public health nurse even provides bedside nursing.

The activities of the public health nurse differ considerably in one city and another. In some cities, her activities are confined to cases of infectious and contagious disease. In other cities, her program includes school health supervision, infant welfare, and home nursing. In recent years there has

⁹ John M. Cooper, D.D., *Sex Education in the Home* (pamphlet published by the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, 1921).

been a very pronounced tendency to extend the sphere of public health nursing, particularly in the field of child-care.

The following table shows the distribution of nurses in the more important fields of activities in eighty-eight cities reporting one or more public health nurses on duty in 1923. It should be noted that "generalized nursing" refers to those nurses who are covering the whole field rather than confining themselves to any of the specified forms of nursing.

KINDS OF NURSING SERVICE PROVIDED BY HEALTH DEPARTMENTS IN 88 CITIES IN 1923 ¹⁰

(Relative importance of different services as shown by the percentage of nurses assigned to specified activities.)

<i>Nursing service provided in the following activities</i>	Per cent of nurses so assigned	Number of cities provid- ing specified service	Per cent of total cities (88)
School health supervision, public and parochial schools	27	32	36.3
Infant welfare (prenatal, infant, or pre-school)	21	44	50.0
Communicable disease con- trol (general)	10	6	6.8
Tuberculosis	9	37	42.0
Communicable disease con- trol (other than tuber- culosis and venereal diseases)	7	46	52.3
Infant welfare and school health supervision ..	4	5	5.7
Venereal diseases	3	49	55.7
Generalized nursing (largely)	19	22	25.0

100

¹⁰ "Municipal Health Department Practice for the Year 1923," (1926) Public Health Bulletin No. 164, United States Public Health Service, p. 364.

Private nursing associations have done valuable pioneer work in infant and school hygiene. They have paved the way for the work that is now being done by the public health nurse. The private nursing associations, usually known as the Instructive Visiting Nurses, are confining themselves, more and more, to the care of the sick in their own homes. The Instructive Visiting Nurses, as their name indicates, assist the family and the patient in carrying out the plan of care prescribed by the physician. They do not engage in actual bedside nursing. For those who are able to pay, they charge a small fee for each visit. The poor they serve free of charge.

Rural Health.—The most serious shortcomings of the whole public health program in the United States are to be found in the rural communities. In 1926, there were in the United States a total of 337 counties or districts employing full-time health officers. Of these 293, or 87 per cent, were receiving financial aid from state boards of health, the United States Public Health Service, the International Health Board, or the United States Children's Bureau.

While creditable progress has been made in the development of rural health projects during the past ten years, the fact still remains that over 83 per cent of our rural population is as yet unprovided with anything like an adequate local health service.¹¹

Functions of the Hospital.—From the very beginning, the hospital has been one of the finest expressions of Christian charity. The early Christian hospitals cared not only for the sick, but also for the poor and the wayward. They looked on their basic work of caring for the sick as a means of reaching out and ministering to all the material and spiritual needs of the people. If the hospital is to maintain its high spiritual and charitable traditions, it must keep step with the

¹¹ L. L. Lumsden, Surgeon, United States Public Health Service, "Extent of Rural Health Service in the United States, 1923-1927," Reprint No. 1,155, *United States Public Health Report* (1927).

developments in social service. In recent years, great demands have been made on hospitals for better physical equipment, more detailed records, more extensive laboratory facilities, and higher standards of nursing service. In their anxiety to meet these demands, many hospitals have been inclined to overlook the broader social aspects of their work. This is probably the reason why many persons to-day look upon hospitals as hotels for the sick, supplying the highest type of medical care for those who can afford to pay the price, or as institutions which give physicians an opportunity of practicing medicine under the most favorable opportunities. The hospital is basically a service institution, and as such must be prepared to meet the needs of the sick of all classes in the community. It must be able to reckon with the needs of the ordinary wage-earner as well as those of the wealthy and the poor.

The hospital of to-day cannot satisfy as great a variety of purposes as did its antecedents in times past. It cannot be a home for the aged, an institution for the convalescing, and an institution for the chronically ill. If it fills its private rooms and its wards with these cases, it cannot effectively serve its basic purpose of caring for the critically ill.

Many hospitals retain chronic patients over very long periods when the space is needed for acute cases of illness. If one asks the reason for this, the superintendents invariably answer that they cannot be so hard-hearted as to turn out persons who are apparently homeless. It may be possible that they are homeless because the hospitals do not have any machinery to find homes for them.

The hospital needs of the ordinary American community are a rather definitely measurable quantity. It has been found that five general hospital beds are needed for each thousand of population to hospitalize general medical and surgical patients, both adults and children; for acute communicable diseases, five beds are needed for each ten thousand of popu-

lation; and for tuberculosis, as many beds as the average number of deaths annually over a period of five years.¹² In most of the larger American cities, the general hospital facilities are fairly adequate.

In many of the smaller towns and rural communities, there is a great dearth of hospital facilities for the care of the acutely sick. In many rural counties, the county infirmary still offers the only such facilities available. The people in these counties must travel long distances in order to secure treatment in up-to-date hospitals. This is a great hardship for all, but particularly for the poor. The poor cannot easily pay the cost of transportation, and frequently have great difficulty in securing free care in city hospitals.

Supplementary Hospital Service.—During recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the need of hospital after-care for the sick. Hospitals are not in a position to take care of patients during convalescence. In the last twenty-five years, the average length of time spent by the patient in the hospital has been reduced from forty to twelve days. On the other hand, it has been found from the study of patients discharged from hospitals that a large number of them need very special care, and that by reason of the lack of this special care, the work of the hospitals may be almost completely undermined. Some patients discharged from hospitals need home nursing service. This calls for close coöperation between the hospitals and the nursing organizations of the community. Many need assistance in the securing of special diets which they cannot afford. Others need trained service in finding new positions. The victims of industrial accidents need trained service to acquaint them with the opportunities for vocational rehabilitation. Therefore it is that social service has become such an important factor in supplementing the work of the hospital.

¹² Haven Emerson, M.D., and Anna C. Phillips, *Hospitals and Health Agencies of Louisville, Ky.* (survey made for the Health and Hospital Survey Committee of the Louisville Community Chest, 1924), p. 66.

There is no form of supplementary hospital service that is more needed and that has been so slow in developing as the convalescent home. The facilities for convalescent home care in the ordinary American city are entirely inadequate. The following cases taken from a recent study point to the need for convalescent home care. They are fairly typical of the situations we find in most cities.

"A boy of nineteen suffering from acute rheumatism after six days in the hospital returned home, where he had no means of securing medical care. He was half well and was unable to work. A period in a modern convalescent home under medical supervision would have been a solution in this case."

"The need for care in an institution was nowhere better shown than in the case of a woman recovering from a serious operation, who returned too soon to household cares. Although Mrs. B. had only her husband to look after at home, he was injured and they could not afford a private nurse to care for them both. Here was a woman herself sick, caring for the sick. A few weeks in an institution would have meant everything for this couple and would have returned them to their home in the physical condition needed to resume their normal life."

"Convalescent care in an institution would have likewise met the medical needs of Mrs. S. who was discharged after an operation with a wound not yet healed. Timid and nervous, she failed to understand the advice of the physician in the clinic in regard to surgical dressings. She needed quiet and rest in a place planned for convalescence, where dressings could have been attended to and indicated treatment provided." ¹³

The chronically ill present a problem to which insufficient thought has been given in most communities. At present, most of the chronically ill are taken care of in their own homes, in the homes of relatives and friends, or in the county and city infirmaries. Many of them would be able to pay the cost

¹³ Haven Emerson and Anna C. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

of their care if there were suitable institutions for them. It is a most distressing sight to see the large number of chronic patients cared for in county and city infirmaries without any medical standards.

The Cost of Sickness.—It has been stated, over and over again, that private medical facilities, as organized to-day, are adequate for the wealthy and the poor. With improved standards of medical and hospital care, costs have been mounting. For the wealthy, it matters not. For the poor, physicians and hospitals are doing a vast amount of free work. Comparatively little is done for the ordinary wage-earner. The physician may reduce his bill if the case seems deserving, or if the victim is not too proud to make his circumstances known. The hospital, too, may lower its charges if it has the machinery for acquainting itself with the facts and circumstances of the case. But even with reduced rates, sickness remains the great financial worry in the life of the ordinary wage-earner. For a man receiving an income of \$2,000 a year, \$200 for an operation, when combined with \$150 for the care of his wife during childbirth, is a severe drain. He may be able to negotiate one of these charges every two years, but if, as is frequently the case, they come in more rapid succession, they may mean the loss of his home or leave him heavily in debt.

We have on hand a considerable body of information on the general incidence of sickness and the cost of sickness to the average wage-earner. Reference is made to this information in Chapter XII on "Economic Disabilities of the Wage-Earner." From the studies made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, we know that 2 per cent of the people are ill all the time. We know, moreover, that the average worker loses 8.9 days a year through illness. From studies made by the United States Public Health Service in the cotton-mill villages of South Carolina and in Hagerstown, Maryland, we learn that sickness falls more heavily on the poor and those of moderate economic status than on the

wealthy. In Hagerstown, the Public Health Service found 32.2 cases of sickness per thousand persons among the well-to-do, 37.6 per thousand among those of moderate means, and 40 per thousand among the poor and very poor.¹⁴

What is most disconcerting about sickness is its uncertainty. There is not one of us who knows when it is going to strike him. The man with a family has a longer line of exposure. It may strike him, his wife, or his children, not only once, but two, three, or more times a year. Of the 4,420 persons whose health was studied over a continuous period of twenty-six months by the United States Public Health Service in Hagerstown, Maryland, 20 per cent had no recognized illness at all; 25 per cent were sick once during the twenty-six months' period; and 20 per cent were sick twice during the period.

Since no man can tell what kind of sickness is going to befall him, he cannot measure its cost. Figures secured by Mr. Michael M. Davis from the schedules of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for its cost-of-living study in 1918 showed that of the 2,046 families studied in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, and St. Louis, 13 per cent expended less than ten dollars a year, 14 per cent expended more than \$100, and 2 per cent more than \$250 for sickness. The thirty-six families which expended more than \$250 spent altogether over \$9,000.¹⁵

Among our own acquaintances we have known families that have been impoverished in one year through sickness. The head of the family may have had an operation, the wife may have been ill and in need of medical care, and one or more of the children may have been ill. A friend of the writer, a professional man with a moderate income, states that his hospital and doctor's bills during the past three years have averaged about \$1,000 a year. This experience is

¹⁴ Michael M. Davis, "The Blunderbuss of Sickness," *Survey Graphic*, LIX. No. 7, January 1, 1928.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

not at all uncommon in families in which there are a number of young children. And, of course, people of the lower, as well as those of the upper, middle class are loath to plead poverty. They want the best that there is; and, unfortunately, they sometimes demand services for which they cannot afford to pay.

Physicians can do much to lighten the financial burden of illness if they will only look more carefully into the financial status of their clients and bring the information they have secured to the attention of the hospitals. We have seen a number of cases of persons who paid full hospital rates after physicians had decided to reduce their own charges by more than 75 per cent. It may be expecting too much of physicians to say that they should secure reduced hospital rates for their patients. A far more satisfactory solution of the whole problem can be secured through a medical social service department attached to the hospital. Through a well-equipped social service department the hospital can secure the information necessary to adjust its rates to the financial status of the individual patient.

Hospital Social Service.—No hospital can do efficient work to-day without reckoning with the home conditions, the habits of life, and the economic status of its patients. The hospital is giving very incomplete service if it returns the sick mother to her family without any plan for her diet, and without any provision for a rest period before she again takes up her household responsibilities. It is not doing its duty to the cardiac patient if it does not find some occupation for him which will not overtax his strength. It is not serving the victims of industrial accidents properly if it does not bring them into contact with opportunities for vocational rehabilitation. It is not serving the anemic child properly if it does not follow him into his home and see to it that the plans made for him by the physician are carried out. Doctors may formulate the most comprehensive plans for the care of patients, but their plans will not produce the desired results if there

is not somebody on hand to see to it that they are carried out. Here we have a very important point of contact between medicine and social case work. Medicine has come to recognize in social case work a most useful and necessary ally in the carrying out of its plans. The doctor looks to the social case worker to render certain types of services to his patients which he himself cannot render.

However, the contacts between medicine and social work mean much more than the carrying-out of plans. The doctor needs certain types of information in regard to his patients that the social worker is in a position to provide. He needs to know about their home conditions, about their habits, their associations and their work, in order to make a complete diagnosis.

Recognizing the close connection between medicine and social work, many of the best hospitals have organized hospital social service departments. Since the beginning of hospital social service as such in the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1906, the idea has spread to the extent of having social work actually established in 286 institutions in the United States and Canada.¹⁶

Social service has developed slowly in Catholic hospitals. Of some 500 Catholic hospitals in the United States, only thirty-two have established social service departments.

On the basis of a study of sixty-one medical social service departments in 1921, Dr. A. M. Richardson reduced the work of these departments to three types. In the first type, which was the type most frequently found, the patient was interviewed in the clinic or ward to ascertain if there was any obvious need of his that should be met. This is very little different from the service rendered by volunteer visitors in hospitals. Under this type were included patients referred by a physician for a specific service, such as a brace, special diet,

¹⁶ "Report of Field Secretary to the Committee of the American Hospital Association Making a Survey of Hospital Social Service," (Chicago, 1922), Bulletin No. 24, American Hospital Association, p. 24.

employment, change of employment, or convalescent care. There was no conference between the physician and the social worker. There was no social investigation.

In the second type of work, emphasis was placed on giving systematic health instruction to patients who were attending tuberculosis, malnutrition, cardiac, prenatal, venereal, and allied clinics.

In the third type of work a plan was worked out between the physician and the social worker based on an intelligent understanding of the patient's physical condition and his social situation.¹⁷

In describing the "primary duty" of hospital social service, the survey committee of the American Hospital Association lists the following activities:

"1. Discovering and reporting to physicians facts regarding the patient's personality or environment which relate to his physical condition.

"2. Overcoming obstacles to successful treatment such as may exist in his home or at his work.

"3. Assisting the physicians by arranging for supplementary care when required.

"4. Educating the patient in regard to his physical condition in order that he may coöperate to the best advantage with the doctor's program for the cure of illness and the protection of health."¹⁸

Social service is the most effective means of making the hospital an integral part of the social work of the community. It gives the hospital an opportunity of availing itself of all the resources of the community in the service of its patients and also makes the hospital more serviceable to the other agencies of the community. The social service department makes it much easier for social workers to deal with the

¹⁷ Dr. A. M. Richardson, in Bulletin No. 24, American Hospital Association, p. 28.

¹⁸ "Report of the Committee on Training for Hospital Social Work," (Chicago, 1923), Bulletin No. 55, American Hospital Association, p. 7.

hospital and to secure the types of medical service needed by the families under their care.

Hospital social service has developed rather slowly. In the hospital, the social worker is dealing with a conservative institution—with an institution, moreover, that has evolved a high degree of organization. The social worker in the hospital finds himself very largely at the mercy of the superintendent and the staff. He progresses according to the degree that he is able to bring both along. If they are not sympathetic, he is greatly handicapped.

When medical social workers learn to appreciate the viewpoint of the hospital superintendent and staff, their work is very much easier. Experience has shown that getting the hospital authorities to appreciate the real mission of medical social service is a slow educational process requiring patience and tact. The real purpose of the social service department is not attained until the intake of all patients in the clinic and wards, and of all part-pay patients, is placed on a sound case-work basis.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What are the activities of the public health nurse in your city?
2. What diseases are reportable in your state?
3. How far does your city provide for follow-up visits on cases of tuberculosis reported by private physicians?
4. Secure from one hospital in your community its rates for ward patients, for patients in semi-private and private rooms. What are the conditions governing the admission of part-pay and free patients? To what extent does the hospital adjust its rates to the needs of different types of patients?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BRYANT, LOUISE S., *Better Doctoring Less Dependency*, with introduction by John A. Lapp (Committee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund of New York, New York, 1927).
- CABOT, RICHARD C., M.D., *Social Work Essays on the Meeting Ground between the Doctor and the Social Worker* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919).

- "Causal Factors in Infant Mortality," Publication No. 142, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.
- CANNON, IDA M., R.N., *Social Work in Hospitals* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1923).
- COOPER, JOHN M., *Sex Education in the Home* (pamphlet published by National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, 1921).
- DAVIS, MICHAEL M., "Sickness Bills and the Sliding Scale," *Survey Graphic*, LIX (1928), No. 9.
— "The Blunderbuss of Sickness," *Survey Graphic*, LIX (1928), No. 7.
— and Warner, Andrew R., M.D., *"Dispensaries"* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918).
- EMERSON, HAVEN, M.D., and PHILLIPS, ANNA C., *Hospitals and Health Agencies of Louisville, Ky.* (survey made for the Health and Hospital Survey Committee of the Louisville Community Chest, 1924).
- HALL, FRED S., *Medical Certification for Marriage* (account of the administration of the Wisconsin marriage law as it relates to venereal diseases) (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925).
- LUMSDEN, L.L., "Extent of Rural Health Service in the United States, 1923-1927," Reprint No. 1,155, United States Public Health Report (1927).
- "Maternal Mortality," Publication No. 158, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.
- "Minimum Standards of Child-Care Adopted by Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare," Publication No. 62, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau.
- "Municipal Health Department Practice for the Year 1923" (1926) (based upon surveys of 100 of the largest cities in the United States), Public Health Bulletin No. 164, United States Public Health Service.
- "Report of the Committee on Training for Hospital Social Work" (Chicago, 1923), Bulletin No. 55, American Hospital Association.
- "Report of the Field Secretary to the Committee of the American Hospital Association Making a Survey of Hospital Social Service" (Chicago, 1922), Bulletin No. 24, American Hospital Association.
- RESEARCH DIVISION, American Child Health Association, *A Health Survey of 86 Cities* (New York, 1925).
- TOWNSEND, J. G., M.D., "The Public Health Nurse," Reprint No. 1,071 United States Public Health Report (1926).

CHAPTER XI

ECONOMIC DISABILITIES OF THE WAGE-EARNER

Effects of Low Income.—Those who come in contact with poor families are familiar with the family with four or five or more children whose chief breadwinner earns from \$900 to \$1,100 a year. Even with the most careful management, such a family cannot secure the essentials of life: food, clothing and shelter. The results are easily discernible in the poor health and weakened vitality of both parents and children. If the family has any standards of respectability, it will make every effort to keep up outward appearances while sacrificing some of the essentials in food and fuel.

The economic difficulties of poor families are aggravated by their methods of buying. They buy coal by the bushel and they purchase their groceries at the near-by store where prices are often higher than in the large store or market. But the poor family does not have any choice. It cannot buy coal in large quantities because it does not have sufficient money and dealers will not extend credit to it. It must trade with the near-by grocer because he is willing to give credit. Moreover, the mother with small children cannot easily get to a more distant market because she cannot find anyone to take care of her children during her absence.

For the single man, the problem of poverty is usually not so acute. If he secures fairly steady employment and does not lose too much time by sickness, he can earn sufficient to secure the necessities, if not the comforts, of life. The single woman is, however, not so favorably situated. In its survey of the wages of women workers in Rhode Island, Kansas, and Georgia in 1920, the Women's Bureau of the Department of

Labor found that approximately one-fifth of the white women employed in Georgia earned less than eight dollars a week, about the same number of those employed in Kansas earned less than nine dollars a week, and one-fifth of those in Rhode Island earned less than twelve dollars a week. According to Dorothy W. Douglas, the minimum budget for a working woman in Philadelphia in 1919 was fifteen dollars a week. The Minimum Wage Commission of the District of Columbia in 1921 found that the minimum budget for a working woman in the city of Washington was sixteen and one-half dollars a week.¹

In the past, many persons assumed that the wages of women workers were little more than pin-money. It is now a well-established fact that the vast majority of women workers turn over all or nearly all of their earnings to their families, and that, as a rule, they come from families where their wages are sorely needed. For women workers, therefore, insufficient wages mean serious suffering and privation for themselves and their families.

It is for the married man with four or five children under fourteen that the problem of insufficient income is the most serious. Even with an income which is ordinarily looked upon as a living wage, the workman with a fairly large family of young children finds it difficult to make ends meet. The extraordinary expenses incident to childbirth and illness in the family are severe strains on his resources. If his income should be cut off by unemployment or sickness for any long period, it is liable to mean acute suffering for himself and his family. The family of the worker with insufficient income suffers continuously, for it is not provided with proper food, clothing, or shelter. Ill health inevitably results from a lack of wholesome and nourishing food. Insufficient clothing not only jeopardizes the health of the body, but kills self-respect. The home of the impoverished wage-earner resolves itself into a

¹ Dorothy W. Douglas, "Cost of Living for Working Women," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1920, p. 257.

place in which to eat and sleep. The children must find their enjoyment and recreation on the outside. There is none of that privacy which is so necessary for the training of growing boys and girls. As the children grow older, and as they compare their lot with that of other children, they frequently become very much dissatisfied. The young girls have no place to which they can invite their friends, and are compelled to meet them on the street, at the "movies," or at dance-halls, with results which are familiar to every social worker.

Wage Statistics in the United States.—Summing up the results of all the more recent wage studies made in the United States, Lauck and Sydenstricker, writing in the early part of 1917, stated that "fully one-fourth of the adult male workers in the principal industries and trades who are heads of families earned less than four hundred dollars, one-half less than six hundred dollars, four-fifths less than eight hundred dollars and less than one-tenth as much as one thousand dollars a year; that fully one-third of all the male workers 18 years of age and over in the principal industries and trades, whether heads of families or not, earned less than four hundred dollars, two-thirds earned less than six hundred dollars, and about one-twentieth earned over one thousand a year."² In 1918-1919, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, in coöperation with the National War Labor Board, made a study of wages and the cost of living in ninety-two cities or localities in forty-two states. The investigation was so planned as to include only the wage-earning and the low or medium-salaried families of the locality. Families in receipt of relief and non-English-speaking families who had been in the United States less than five years were excluded from the study. The investigation covered in all 12,096 families. Of these 332, or 2.74 per cent, had incomes of less than \$900 a year; 2,423 ranged between \$900 and \$1,200; 3,959, between \$1,200 and \$1,500; 2,730, between \$1,500 and \$1,800;

² W. J. Lauck and Edgar Sydenstricker, *Conditions of Labor in American Industries* (Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1917).

1,594, between \$1,800 and \$2,100. In September, 1918, and March, 1920, the National Industrial Conference made a study of weekly wages in twelve American industries. Assuming that the employees in these industries worked fifty-two weeks in the year, the average yearly earnings in the boot and shoe industry, for instance, would have been \$1,228 in 1918 and \$1,492 in 1920. In furniture manufacturing, the average yearly wage in 1918 would have been \$904, and in 1920, \$1,189.³

Minimum Standards of Living.—When we compare our wage statistics with the actual amount necessary to maintain a family of five, consisting of father, mother, and three children under fourteen, we find that large numbers of wage-earners' families do not receive sufficient for physical well-being. Before the World War, the classic study of Dr. R. C. Chapin was used very generally as a basis for figuring the sufficiency of incomes of American wage-earners' families. As the result of his study in New York City, Dr. Chapin concluded that the sum of \$800 a year was necessary to maintain a standard family of five in health and decency. The great fluctuations in price brought about by the World War made further budget studies necessary in order that we might have a proper measure of how far wages were keeping pace with the increased cost of living. In 1918, Dr. William F. Ogburn made a study of the expenditures of shipping-yard workers in certain eastern industrial centers. On the basis of these studies, he concluded that the minimum amount necessary to maintain a family according to a subsistence level was \$1,386 a year, and that the amount necessary to maintain a family according to a comfort level was \$1,760. On the basis of a study made in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1919, the National Industrial Conference Board, an organization of employers, concluded that the minimum amount necessary to

³ Paul H. Douglas, "Wages and Hours of Labor in 1919," *Journal of Political Economy*, January, 1921.

maintain a family according to a subsistence level was \$1,268, and that the amount necessary for a comfort level was \$1,574. In 1918, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, under the direction of Mr. W. C. Beyer, made a study of the expenditures of 260 wage-earners' families in Philadelphia. As a result of this study, it was found that a family of five could not maintain a fair standard of living in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1918 on less than \$1,636.79. Assuming 300 working days in the year, this would mean an equivalent daily income of \$5.45. The cost of different items in Philadelphia has been noted down to 1920, and by that time the amount necessary had increased to \$1,847.

According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, there has not been any material change since 1918. Prices decreased 1 per cent between December, 1918, and June, 1927. In December, 1918, retail prices had increased by 74.4 per cent over 1913. In June, 1927, the increase over 1913 was 73.4 per cent. This means that practically the same amount would be necessary to maintain the family of five in June, 1927, as in December, 1918.⁴

It is a curious commentary on our industrial system that, in spite of the great wealth of the United States, we should have a very large number of men and women working for wages that are insufficient to maintain them in health and decency. In our oratorical outbursts, we speak about the United States as the land of opportunity, and yet we find that 25.4 per cent of 12,096 wage-earning families studied by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1918 had

⁴ R. C. Chapin, *Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City* (New York Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1909). Dorothy W. Douglas, "A Description of Standards of Living," in Douglas, Hitchcock, and Atkins, *The Worker in Modern Society*, pp. 274-287. William C. Beyer, Rebekah P. Davis, and Myra Thwing, *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia*, pp. 38-50. "American Minimum Wage Law at Work," *Monthly Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, I (1920), No. 1, pp.180-181. *Monthly Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, XXV (1927), No. 2, p. 215.

an income of less than \$1,199 a year, and that the average income of the male breadwinner in all the 12,096 families was \$1,349.

Free Competition a Poor Determinate of Wage Rates.—

A great many people still adhere to the view that the ordinary workman receives the full value of his labor. They assume that competition operates with comparatively little friction. All students who have studied the problem with unbiased minds are well aware that competition does not operate freely in the determination of wage rates. They recognize that the employee is at a great disadvantage in dealing with his employer. The unskilled wage-earner does not have very much information in regard to the opportunities that are open to him. When he is thrown out of work, he is at a loss to know where to find a position. He has very little time for planning or searching, because he has little or no margin of savings. After he has been searching for work for three or four days, he is prepared to take almost anything that presents itself. The advocates of the old economic doctrine of free competition would have great difficulty in upholding their system in the case of the man with a family in quest of work. The economists might say that the law which they had formulated did not operate in the case by reason of economic friction of one kind or another. But those who have had actual experience in dealing with wage-earners' families could point to hundreds of cases to show that competition does not operate freely in the determination of rates of pay or other conditions entering into the labor contract. The social worker, as well as the economist who has any first-hand knowledge of labor conditions, is well aware that the wage-earner cannot secure a share of the products of industry commensurate with his output without organized effort or state action.

Nearly all serious students of society now recognize that human labor is not something that can be dealt with like an ordinary article of commerce. The sacredness of human personality gives us an entirely different view of the problem of

human labor. We cannot, for a moment, deal with human labor apart from human personality. Man has a sacred duty of using his labor and the products thereof for the development of his God-given physical, spiritual, and mental powers. This is the Christian view of labor. "The preservation of life," says Leo XIII in his Encyclical on the condition of the working classes, "is the bounden duty of one and all and to be wanting therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required to live, and the poor can procure it in no other way than through work and wages." Referring to agreements entered into between employers and employees, the Pope states, "There underlies a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that remuneration ought to be sufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner. If, through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will afford him no better, he is made the victim of force and injustice."⁵

Two Ways of Increasing Income.—There are two means by which the wage-earner can secure sufficient income to maintain himself and his family in health and decency, and these are collective bargaining and legislation. Collective bargaining means that the workers are organized and that they bargain with their employers through representatives of their own choosing. Many employers object to collective bargaining, as currently understood, because they are unwilling to deal with outsiders in regard to the conditions of employment in their own industry. They are perfectly willing, so they claim, to deal with an organization of their own men. The ordinary shop or plant union does not have sufficient strength to deal with the employer on the basis of equality. In order to be really effective, the organization of labor must parallel industrial organization. Not only must the workers

⁵ *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1903), p. 226.

in each shop be organized, but they must be banded together in local and national unions. Labor must have the type of leadership which only a national organization can give in order properly to present its case to employers and the public. It must have large national defense funds, so that when necessary it may be able to use the strike effectively.

Labor Organization for Collective Bargaining.—As we study the organization of labor in the United States, we find that it is confined very largely to skilled wage-earners. Outside of a few industries, the American labor movement has had only very meager success in the organizing of unskilled workers. American trade-unions have at present a membership of approximately four million persons, the vast majority of whom are skilled workers. Our unskilled workers do not seem to appreciate the advantages of organization. Their places are easily filled, and therefore they cannot use the strike with the same effect as skilled workers. Large numbers of skilled workers, however, are employed by powerful corporations which have consistently opposed the unionizing of their shops.⁶

Nobody to-day questions the need of organizations of employers. Similarly, there should be no question about the need of workers' organizations. Strong organizations with a capable leadership are the best hope of the wage-earner for securing a living wage, reasonable hours of labor, and healthful working conditions.

The obstacles in the way of further organization, particularly of unskilled workers, while they look rather serious at present, will undoubtedly be overcome. In time, American industry, like the industries of other countries, will have to reckon more and more with the views of employees. American industrial leaders will undoubtedly come to look upon organization as the necessary means of developing capable

⁶ G. A. Barnett, "Membership in American Trade Unions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1916, p. 846.

and intelligent workmen and of saving the American wage-earners from the influence of more radical philosophers.

What Legal Regulation of Wages Has Done.—The legal regulation of the wages of men in private employment has never been seriously considered in the United States. Such legislation would not be politically feasible in this country, and certainly would not be upheld by the courts at the present time. In England, and in Australia and New Zealand, far-reaching steps have been taken in the legal regulation of the wages of men. In 1897, the colony of New Zealand began to regulate wages by law. Its purpose was not so much the securing of living wages for its poorly paid workers as the promotion of industrial peace. The New Zealand law provided that, in case the parties to an industrial dispute failed to agree, the state could step in and fix the rate of wages which would be binding on both parties. Three years later, the Province of Victoria approached the problem of legal regulation of wages from a different angle. It endeavored to make an end of sweating by establishing wage boards with authority to fix minimum rates of wages in the different trades.

Beginning in 1885, public attention in England was centered on the evils of sweating in industry, or the unscrupulous exploitation of the poorer workers by requiring them to work for insufficient wages or for excessively long hours or under unsanitary working conditions. In 1909, England adopted the wage-board system of Victoria, by what was known as the Trade Board Act, as a remedy for the evils of sweating. This Act was confined to trades in which the rates of wages were exceptionally low, but it was provided that the Act might be extended by executives to other trades in which there was an evidence of sweating. In 1918, the Act was so amended that it could be extended not only to trades in which sweating existed, but also to those in which there was no machinery for the adjustment of wage rates. In 1911

Massachusetts passed a law modeled after the British and Australian laws for the purpose of regulating the wages of women and minors. The Massachusetts law provided for a permanent appointive commission with powers of inquiry into the wages paid to female employees in any occupation in the commonwealth. If the commission found that the wages paid to a substantial number of the employees in any industry were inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health, it might set up a board of not less than six representatives of the employers, an equal number of employees, and one or more disinterested persons, to make recommendations in regard to minimum rates of wages. If the commission found that the rates recommended were reasonable, it might publish them in the press.

The Massachusetts law departed from its prototypes not only in limiting its application to women and minors, but also in regard to its enforcement, for which it depended entirely on public opinion. Between 1911 and 1920, fourteen American states passed minimum wage laws for women. All these laws were compulsory, that is, the employers were obliged to pay the prescribed rate of wages. Ten states, Oregon, California, Washington, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and Texas, and the District of Columbia followed the Massachusetts plan of providing for a permanent commission to set up rates for each industry. Three states, Arizona, Utah, and Arkansas, by statutory enactment, fixed flat rates of wages for different groups of women workers.⁷

Minimum Wage Movement in the United States.—The minimum wage movement in the United States received a severe setback through the decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to the District of Columbia minimum wage law, handed down April 9, 1923. The majority of the Court held that the minimum wage law "is simply and ex-

⁷ John O'Grady, *A Legal Minimum Wage* (Washington, D. C., 1915), pp. 22-68.

clusively a price-fixing law confined to adult women who are legally as capable of contracting for themselves as men." The decision of the Supreme Court in the District of Columbia case has undoubtedly prevented a number of states from enacting or seriously considering the enactment of minimum wage legislation. It has prevented the wage commissions in the various states from taking any steps that might provoke employers to question the validity of the law. The chances are that, as soon as employers decide to bring test cases, the minimum wage laws in the different states will meet with the same fate as the District of Columbia law. What to do in this predicament in which they are bound to find themselves sooner or later is a serious problem for the advocates of minimum wage legislation. Some believe that the various states must have recourse to the Massachusetts plan, which provides for the publication of rates without imposing any obligation on the employer; others favor a constitutional amendment authorizing the states to regulate the wages of women and minors.⁸

Family Allowances.—All studies of family budgets in this country have been based on the standard family of five, consisting of father, mother, and three children under fourteen. This, according to the Bureau of the Census, represents the average American household, and, furthermore, approximately three children per household is necessary for the perpetuation of the race. We must remember that in using the standard family of five we are dealing with something that does not represent a concrete reality. Many families have more than three children and many have fewer. Suppose a living wage could be secured for families of five, what would it profit families of seven or eight persons? A living wage for a family of five would be more than the amount needed by the single man, and much less than the amount needed by a man with a family of seven children. Many persons have

⁸ John A. Ryan, D.D., "The End of the Minimum Wage Laws," *Catholic Charities Review*, November, 1925, p. 339.

therefore contended that in regulating wages, whether by law or trade-union action, we should reckon with the varied needs of families of different sizes rather than set up any one standard.

Those who advocate the determining of wages on the basis of family needs contend that there should be a certain rate for individual wage-earners and that, over and above this rate, married men should receive a certain amount in proportion to the number of their children. The extra amount paid to wage-earners with children might come from a central fund established by employers or from the state.

Family allowances, which is the term applied to extra grants to wage-earners with children, have become quite popular in a number of European countries. Family allowances are being paid more or less extensively in the civil service of twenty-one European countries. The movement for family allowances has made notable headway in private industries in Germany, the Netherlands, France, Poland, Sweden and Italy.⁹ The problem is still largely of academic interest in this country, but it has an increasing number of advocates. While it presents many technical difficulties, it is based on a sound philosophy of family life. It encourages wage-earners to have large families and aids them in securing the things necessary for the welfare of their children. "There can be but little doubt," says Paul Douglas, "that our present system of wage payment falls with the greatest weight upon those with three or more children because of the failure of their income to rise commensurately with the increase in the number of their dependents, and it is precisely this group who would be assisted by the family allowance system."¹⁰

⁹ "Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926," Bulletin No. 439, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 159-168. For more detailed treatment, see Mary T. Waggaman, "Family Allowances in Foreign Countries," Bulletin No. 401, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

¹⁰ Paul H. Douglas, *The Living Wage and Family Allowance Systems* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926), pp. 305-317.

Hours of Labor.—Since 1908, rapid progress has been made in the legal regulation of the hours of labor of women. In that year the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Oregon ten-hour law. By 1926, all but five states had passed some restriction on hours of work for women. Eight-hour laws are found in California, Utah, the District of Columbia, and New Mexico. In these jurisdictions, we find there is a forty-eight-hour week as well as an eight-hour day.

The United States Supreme Court has recognized the power of the various states to pass not only ten-hour but also eight-hour laws for women workers. In 1915, the Court upheld the constitutionality of the California eight-hour law. It is now a well-recognized principle of constitutional law that the regulation of the hours of labor of women is a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state. The courts have been much more inclined to extend the police power in the regulation of hours of labor of women than of men. They have recognized a very close connection between the work hours of women and their welfare and the welfare of the race.¹¹

In recent years, a number of states have adopted a new method in the regulation of hours of labor for women workers. They have laid down the general principle in the statutes that women should not be employed for unreasonably long hours and have left to administrative commissions the determination of what constitute reasonable hours of work.

Legislation governing the laws of labor of men in the United States is of a rather limited and fragmentary character. The right of the various states and the federal government to regulate the hours of labor of public employees has long since been accepted. The eight-hour day has become a general rule in public employment in the United States. The right of the states and the federal government to regulate the hours of

¹¹ John R. Commons and John B. Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, pp. 249-253. *Stettler vs. O'Hara*. 69 Ore. 519, 139 Pac. 743 (1914).

labor of persons engaged in transportation has also been recognized. Regulation of hours of labor in transportation is held to be justified in the interest of public safety.

By 1926, over a dozen states had passed eight-hour laws governing some or all classes of work in mines. These laws vary from that of Pennsylvania, which applies only to hoisting engineers in anthracite mines, to that of Arizona, which covers all classes of workers engaged in mining, smelting, or refining of ores.

About a dozen states have passed laws regulating the hours of adult males in one or more employments in factories and workshops. Mississippi in 1912 and Oregon in 1913 adopted ten-hour laws for all workers in manufacturing establishments. Arizona has an eight-hour law for workers in electric plants. New Jersey has a ten-hour law for workers in bakeries. The right of the state to pass a ten-hour law for men engaged in manufacturing establishments has been recognized by the United States Supreme Court in its decision on the Oregon ten-hour law.¹² Eight-hour legislation for men engaged in the ordinary manufacturing processes has not yet been passed upon by the Supreme Court. In its decision on the Oregon law, however, the Court has recognized the connection between hours of labor of men in general industry and public health and welfare. As the dangers of long hours of work become better recognized, the chances are that the courts will come to accept the legal eight-hour day as an essential public welfare measure.

Child-Labor Legislation.—There is no subject in the whole field of social legislation which has aroused such keen interest as legislation governing the employment of children. In child-labor legislation, two definite objectives have been kept in view: first, the exclusion of children of tender age from industry; and second, the securing for each child of a certain minimum of education. The permitting of young children to take up gainful employment seriously interferes with their

¹² *Bunting vs. Ore.* 243. U. S. 246. 37 Sup. Ct. 435 (1917).

physical development and is liable permanently to impair their health. The securing of a certain minimum of education for each child is most essential in order that the child may make the proper use of the talents that have been given him and discharge his duties as man and citizen.

In recent years, all the states have passed laws forbidding the employment of children in certain kinds of work until they have reached a certain age. By 1926, the fourteen-year age limit for general factory work was established in all states except Utah. In four states, however, the restriction applied only to work during the school term. In four states, at that time, exemptions could be made because of poverty.

Most of the child-labor laws exempt children under fourteen from a certain specified list of occupations. Children are permitted to work at an earlier age in occupations not included in this list. A number of the recent child-labor laws provide that children under a certain age shall be excluded from all gainful occupations.

A number of state child-labor laws have excluded children under sixteen from a certain specified list of hazardous occupations. In these states, an age-limit of eighteen has been established for certain extra-hazardous employments. In some instances, minimum age-limits as high as eighteen or even twenty-one have been established for certain morally hazardous occupations like messenger service. In about three-fourths of the States, an eight-hour day has been established by law for children under sixteen. All except three states prohibit night work in factories between 7:00 P. M. and 6:00 A. M. for children under sixteen.

Regulation of the age at which the child should go to work is of very little use without some educational requirements. In keeping the child out of industry we want to give him an opportunity of development physically and also of acquiring the fundamentals of education. The best child-labor laws, therefore, require that the child shall have completed the eighth grade before going to work. Most of the states, however,

have not yet adopted this minimum educational standard; in fact, nine states have no educational requirements whatsoever for the employment of children of fourteen years of age and over.

An increasing number of states are requiring that children between fourteen and eighteen, going out to work, shall spend a certain number of hours in school every week. A few states require that continuation school attendance, which is usually from four to eight hours a week, be extended to twenty hours a week for children who are temporarily unemployed.

Children over fourteen who have completed their educational requirements must secure a permit in order to work. In order to secure the permit, they must pass a physical examination.

In spite of the great progress made in the regulation of child labor in the United States during the past twenty-five years, our child-labor legislation still suffers from many limitations. Many of the states have no educational requirements. A great number of states permit all kinds of exceptions to their age standards. In most states, comparatively little progress has been made in the regulation of street trades. Children under twelve years of age may be found at all hours of the night selling papers on the city streets. In many states, there has been very little organized effort to enforce the child-labor laws on the statute books.

Security against Industrial Hazards.—It is essential to their own well-being and the well-being of society that workers receive living wages and that they be not required to work for unreasonably long hours or under conditions injurious to their health and welfare. It is equally important, however, that the workers have reasonable security against the hazards that cut off their income either temporarily or permanently. Most of the families that come to the family agency for material relief come not because of low wages, but because their income has been cut off by an industrial accident, sickness, unemployment, or the premature death of the chief

breadwinner. Under ordinary circumstances, the family with the low income does not apply to the social agency for assistance; it struggles along as best it can under conditions that sap the health and vitality of its members. It has no savings and very little power of resistance. Two weeks of illness or of unemployment are liable to mean serious suffering or dependence on outside assistance.

Workmen's Compensation Legislation.—During the past ten years, rather encouraging progress has been made in the United States in protecting workers against the hazard of industrial accidents. Before 1911, the worker who was injured during the course of his employment found it very difficult to secure any redress. He was compelled to bring suit against his employer and his position before the court was weakened very greatly by the defenses of common law which the employer was entitled to plead against him. The worker was supposed to have assumed the ordinary risks of the trade. If the accident resulted from the negligence of a fellow employee, the injured party could have no recourse against the employer. His only recourse in such a case would be against the fellow employee. If the employee in any way contributed to the accident by his neglect, he had very little hope of obtaining compensation, though the employer might have been equally negligent. It is evident that the application of such legal doctrine placed the workers at a very serious disadvantage under modern industrial conditions. They could not expect to command the same legal talent as the employer in the legal battle which followed a claim for compensation. In order to avoid a lawsuit which had little promise of success, many injured workers settled for insignificantly small sums.

Workmen's compensation legislation represents a complete change in our theory of responsibility for industrial accidents. Instead of trying to find out who is responsible for accidents, we assume that they are incidental to modern industrial processes and that compensation for them must be looked upon as an essential part of the cost of production to be

shifted to the consumer in the form of increased prices. Under workmen's compensation, the worker receives a percentage of his wages which is sufficient to meet his immediate needs. He is also entitled to proper medical and hospital care at his employer's expense. In case of death, the employee's dependents are supposed to receive allowances sufficient to prevent them from becoming dependents on charity.

Beginning in 1911, the workmen's compensation movement has made remarkable progress in the United States. In 1911, ten states enacted workmen's compensation laws. Since that time, thirty-three other states have followed suit, making a total of forty-three states having workmen's compensation laws at the present time. The five states which have not yet adopted workmen's compensation laws are Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In 1916, Congress passed a law providing compensation for employees injured in the federal service.¹³

Under workmen's compensation legislation, injured wage-earners receive compensation unless they have been grossly and wilfully negligent. The laws usually provide that, after a certain waiting period, varying between one and two weeks, the injured worker should receive a certain percentage of his wages during the period of disability. The early laws generally provided for the payment of 50 per cent of the worker's wages, but under the more recent law, the tendency has been to increase the scale of compensation to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the wages. Nearly all the laws, however, provide for a certain weekly minimum scale of compensation. They provide a certain time-limit (from 300 to 500 weeks) after which compensation cannot be continued, and also a maximum total amount, usually from \$3,000 to \$5,000, to be paid to any injured worker. In the case of fatal accidents, the dependents of the deceased employee receive a certain percentage of his wages

¹³ "Workingmen's Compensation Legislation in the United States and Canada," Bulletin No. 423, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 1-8.

for three or four years. Workers who are partially disabled are compensated either according to the loss of earning power or according to a definite scale of definite types of injuries. If, for instance, a man loses a finger, some states will compensate according to the actual loss of earning power suffered by the wage-earner as a result of the loss of this member, while in other states the law provides a definite amount of compensation for this particular injury.¹⁴

Workmen's compensation legislation cannot attain its purposes without provision for adequate medical care. In his own interests and in the interests of society, the injured employee should have proper medical and surgical care during the period of his disability. With proper medical and hospital care, the time lost by the employee will be shortened, and his chances of complete recovery will be greatly improved. The policy of most states in limiting the time for which medical care will be given, and also in limiting the total amount to be expended for this purpose, is very poor economy. Only six of the forty-three states having compensation laws place no definite limit on the amount of medical care which the employer must furnish. Our after-war experience in refitting large numbers of wounded men for useful occupations has taught an important lesson to those interested in the victims of industrial accidents. We no longer think that, because a workman has suffered a disability which disqualifies him for his old occupation, he must be thrown on the scrap pile. If large numbers of wounded soldiers could be prepared for new occupations, why not the victims of industrial accidents? This is the task which most of our workmen's compensation commissions are essaying at the present time. In 1921, Congress passed a law providing financial aid for the states in rehabilitating the victims of accidents of any kind.¹⁵ This law is administered by the Federal Board for Vocational Education in coöpera-

¹⁴ Bulletin No. 423, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 8-60.

¹⁵ Bulletin No. 423, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 69-70.

tion with the states which have accepted the act and agreed to match the federal appropriation.

Workmen's compensation legislation in the United States at the present time has other very serious limitations. Five states and the District of Columbia do not yet have compensation legislation. More than half of the compensation laws are elective, the employer or employee having the option of electing workmen's compensation or a modified form of employers' liability. In 1920, 28.9 per cent of the total number of workers in the compensation states were not covered by compensation legislation. This is due to the exclusion of supposedly non-hazardous occupations like agriculture and domestic service, and of small employers. Another very decided limitation of compensation legislation is the limitation of the amount to be paid to those who have been permanently and totally disabled and the dependents of the victims of fatal accidents. One cannot, however, fail to note a gradual improvement year by year. The laws which have been enacted during the past eight years are much more liberal than the original ones. In the beginning, the usual amount granted to injured workers was 50 per cent of their wages. Nearly all the more recent laws allow $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of their wages. There has also been a marked tendency on the part of legislators to increase medical benefits and to remove the limitations on the total amount to be paid to the permanently and totally disabled and the dependents of victims of fatal accidents.

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC DISABILITIES OF THE WAGE-EARNER—*Continued*

III Health As a Factor in Poverty.—There is scarcely a form of industrial hazard to which wage-earners are exposed which is so serious as the hazard of sickness. Nearly all authorities agree that sickness is the most important factor in 30 to 50 per cent of the cases of poverty. For the unskilled wage-earner, and in general for all wage-earners who have only a small margin of savings, a disabling sickness of two or three weeks' duration means privation and want, not only for the wage-earner himself, but for his family. For the workman who has a considerable margin, sickness means the exhausting of the little fund which it has taken him years to accumulate.

The ordinary wage-earner marries at about twenty-five. During the years between twenty-five and forty-five it is very difficult for him to save very much. If he or his wife or any of the members of his family experience a long period of illness during these years, saving will be impossible for him. It is when the worker has passed forty-five and the burden of supporting a family is being gradually removed from his shoulders that there is the greatest possibility of his saving. It is at this period of life, however, that the worker is more liable to lose time through sickness. This is particularly true when he is engaged in occupations like molding, blacksmithing, pottery, mining, or glass-bottle-blowing. Many of the men engaged in these exacting occupations lose a great amount of time through sickness between forty-five and fifty. During these years sickness is very liable to consume all their savings and leave them without any protection during the period of

old age. Because of sickness, many men between the ages of forty-five and fifty are compelled to leave the skilled trades and take up work in unskilled occupations at very low wages. For these, sickness means not only an immediate wage loss, but also a permanent reduction in earning power.

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations, on the basis of an examination of the sickness statistics of more than a million workmen, estimated that the industrial worker loses on an average nine days in the year through sickness. The investigations of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company show that the average wage-earner loses 8.3 days in the year through sickness. The Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio found that 20 per cent of the wage-earners studied by them are disabled every year for more than one week; of those who are disabled, 35 per cent are disabled for four weeks or more; 6.4 per cent are disabled for eight weeks; 3 per cent, for more than six months; and 1.2 per cent, for more than a year.¹

At the present time, the largest share of the burden of ill health is borne by the wage-earners themselves. For a very large percentage of them it means serious suffering, undernourishment, and a high mortality rate for the children. In the long run, it means reduced earning power and premature superannuation. The worker who has to suffer the economic losses of ill health alone and unaided will, many times, be compelled to exhaust the savings of his lifetime and will be compelled to depend on relatives or the public for support in his old age.

Protection Against Ill Health.—1. *American Trade-Unions.* American trade-unions have given some attention to the protection of their members against industrial hazards. While the primary purpose of the trade-unions is the regulation of wages, hours, and working conditions by collective agreements, those unions which have felt secure in the attainment of their

¹ John O'Grady, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio*, pp. 64-70.

primary purposes have added benefit features of one kind or another. These benefit features have served to attract members to the unions and have also helped to give them greater control over their membership. Most American trade-unions, however, have been so occupied with questions of wages, hours, and working conditions that they have been able to devote comparatively little time to securing protection against industrial hazards. Accordingly, we find that provision for sickness as well as other benefits is confined to the old and well-established trade-unions like those in the building and printing industries or in railroad train service. A federal investigation in 1908 showed that of the 125 national unions in this country, only nineteen provided benefits for temporary disability, which includes sickness and accidents. The total amount expended by American national unions for temporary disability in 1907 was \$1,832,760.

2. *Local Unions and Health.* But in providing sickness benefits the local union plays a far more important rôle than the national. The tendency, in fact, seems to have been to place this branch of activity entirely in the hands of the local organization. How far the different locals respond to the need of providing sickness benefits for their members is difficult to say, as no complete study of the question has ever been made in this country. Of the 530 local unions investigated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1908, it was found that 246 having a membership of 103,452 paid temporary benefits, including those for sickness and accidents. The amounts paid by the unions varied between two dollars and ten dollars a week; the maximum time for which benefits were paid was about thirteen weeks.²

A fairly large number of workmen have been able to secure partial protection against ill health through the various fraternal orders. On January 1, 1913, there were in the United States 179 fraternal associations with a membership of 7,700,000, and of this number, thirty associations with 800,000 mem-

² John O'Grady, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio*, p. 121.

bers paid sick benefits in 1914. The amount paid was \$1,100,000, or 1 per cent of the whole fraternal insurance business in the United States. This does not represent all the work done by fraternal orders for the protection of the members against the hazards of ill health. In many of the fraternal associations, provision against sickness is left entirely to the local chapter or lodge, and of the work done by the locals we have very little information. The California Insurance Commission in 1915 found that 300,000 members of the local branches of fraternal organizations in that state were entitled to sickness benefits. This represented 35 per cent of the total membership in fraternal organizations in California. If the same proportion prevailed throughout the entire country, it would mean that about 2,800,000 persons are entitled to sickness benefits from the local branches of the different fraternal orders. If all these belonged to the working class, it might be said that the fraternal, together with other private organizations in the field, were going a great way toward solving the problem of sickness. But, according to the best estimate, not more than half of the members of fraternal societies in this country belong to the working class, and in all probability not more than the same proportion of persons insured against sickness by these organizations are wage-earners.

In considering the protection of the wage-earner against the hazard of ill health, we must reckon not only with the economic losses due to ill health, but also with the additional expenses which ill health entails. When the worker is ill, his income is cut off. He must fall back on his savings, if he is fortunate enough to have any, or go in debt in order to secure the necessities of life for himself and his family. He must also find the means to pay the doctor, the druggist, and the hospital. An adequate scheme for the protection of the wage-earner against ill health must, therefore, reckon both with the wage losses and the expenses of medical care; and for the wage-earner, proper medical care is just as important as the financial benefit.

Lack of proper medical care is the most serious limitation of the sickness benefits of the trade-unions and fraternal orders. It is generally recognized that these organizations do not provide adequate medical care for their members in case of sickness, and they can scarcely be expected to do so. Medical care for the sick, which ought to mean the attention of a qualified physician, dental care, drug supplies, and hospital care when necessary, is an expensive undertaking. It cannot be provided by the trade-union or fraternal order without a large increase of dues.

3. *Employers and Health.* During recent years, a great many American employers have been giving special attention to the health problems of their wage-earners. They have come to recognize the very close connection between the health and the efficiency of their employees. Employers have found that when their employees receive proper medical care they lose a smaller amount of time through sickness. Therefore it is that an increasing number of American employers have been making special provision for the health of their workers. In some instances, this provision takes the form of medical and nursing care. When an employee is ill, the doctor and the nurse from the factory welfare department visit his home and provide medical and nursing care for him. Many of the large industries not only provide medical care, but also provide a cash benefit for their wage-earners in case of illness. The amount of the cash benefit is generally from five to six dollars a week, extending over a period varying from ten to twenty-six weeks. In some instances, the employer bears the entire cost of the cash benefit. In most instances, however, the workers bear the whole or the greater part of the cost.

How far the workers in this country are protected against the hazard of ill health by industry it is rather difficult to say. In one industry, namely railroading, in which cash benefits have been most widely adopted, it was found that 20 per cent of the workers were entitled to these benefits in 1907. The benefits provided by employers through

these establishment funds, are, undoubtedly, superior to those provided by trade-unions and fraternal orders, especially from the standpoint of medical care. In many establishments, the workers not only receive medical care when ill, but are constantly under the observation of competent physicians who detect the first symptoms of disease.

4. *Compulsory Health Insurance.* Between 1915 and 1919 there was a well-organized movement for universal and compulsory health insurance in this country. A number of students of the problem came to the conclusion that we could no longer depend on private initiative to protect the worker against the hazard of ill health. They contended that a great many wage-earners could not save sufficient to protect themselves against the losses due to ill health, and that a short period of illness reduced many of them to distress. They emphasized the fact that the existing agencies, including fraternal orders, trade-unions, and establishment funds, were confined largely to skilled wage-earners, and that they did not include those who needed protection most; that the existing agencies, in so far as they imposed the entire cost of insurance on the wage-earner, were not based on sound social policies. Sick-ness, they contended, was due in part to personal neglect on the part of the wage-earner, in part to the occupation in which he was engaged, and in part to the unhealthy environment in which he lived; therefore the cost of insuring against it should be borne conjointly by the workers, by industry, and by the state.

Universal and compulsory health insurance is not by any means a new experiment. It has been in operation in several European countries for a number of years. As far back as 1883, Germany adopted compulsory health insurance. In 1911, compulsory health insurance was adopted in England. In no country where compulsory health insurance has been adopted has there been any serious thought of abandoning it. In fact, all the available evidence shows that the interests which originally opposed health insurance have become entirely reconciled

to it. The English physicians were originally bitterly opposed to health insurance, but they have found that instead of injuring them, it has improved their situation very materially. They are now assured of a definite sum for their services to a large number of patients from whom they received little or nothing in the past.

The European systems of health insurance provide for the insurance against ill health of all wage-earners receiving less than a certain amount of wages. The cost of the insurance is borne in part by the employer, in part by the employee, and in part by the state. Under the British law, the insured contributes four-ninths, the employers three-ninths, and the state two-ninths of the cost. According to the German plan, the cost is borne conjointly by the employer and the employee at the rate of two-thirds and one-third respectively, the state defraying a part of the cost of administration.

Compulsory health insurance provides two types of benefits, a medical benefit and a cash benefit. The medical benefit under the British law provides for medical treatment and attendance, including drugs and appliances and sanitarium care for those suffering from tuberculosis or other diseases for which such care can be provided.³ The cash benefit includes \$3.64 a week for men and \$2.91 for women to be paid for a period of twenty-six weeks. If an insured person is unable to resume work at the end of the twenty-sixth week, he is entitled to \$1.82 a week and may continue to receive this amount as long as the disability lasts or until he reaches the age of sixty-five, when he qualifies for the old-age pension. The law also provides for the payment of \$9.72 a week in case of the confinement of the wife of an insured person and of \$19.44 in the case of a woman who is insured.⁴

Compulsory health insurance has not been adopted in any state of the United States. Employers, organizations, insurance companies, and physicians are strongly in opposition to

³ John O'Grady, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-175.

health insurance, and labor is apathetic, if not opposed, to it. In all probability, other methods will be adopted in this country to meet the needs that health insurance is intended to satisfy. We are bound to have important developments in public health science so that those who are unable to pay high fees will be able to secure medical care at a small cost. We are also bound to have important developments in industrial medicine. From recent developments in this field, it would seem as if American industries are going to assume an increasing responsibility for the health of their workers.

Unemployment Statistics.—In the United States, public discussion of unemployment is confined to periods of industrial depression. During the winters of 1907–1908, 1914–1915, and 1920–1921, the American people gave serious thought to the problem and the various ways and means of minimizing its hardships. Mayors' committees were appointed in different cities and public works were undertaken to relieve the large number of unemployed. Most of the projects for the unemployed undertaken during the periods of depression in the United States were of a relief character. Even before very much was accomplished in the way of relief, the problem had solved itself by reason of the return of prosperity, and when prosperity had returned the public forgot all about the projects that had been proposed for the relief of unemployment and went on with its usual assumption that every man in this country who was able and willing to work could find suitable work.

Every social worker and every student of industrial problems is well aware that unemployment is not confined to periods of industrial depression. Even in the busiest times, when industry is working at full speed, we have a great many persons out of work through no fault of their own. In 1917, when labor in the United States was at a premium, more than a million men were out of work. Unemployment statistics published by the New York State Department of Labor show

that between 1904 and 1915 the percentage of the trade-union membership in the state out of work ranged from 6.8 per cent to 28 per cent. Studies made by Hornell Hart for the Helen S. Trouenstine Foundation in Cincinnati show that, between 1902 and 1917, the smallest number of persons out of work at any one time was 1,200,000 in 1906, and that the number unemployed in 1908 increased to 3,500,000 and in 1915 to 4,600,000. The total number of persons unemployed in September, 1921, was not less than 3,700,000 nor more than 4,000,000.⁵

There is nothing that so disheartens the man with the responsibility of a family on his shoulders as to be compelled to walk the streets day after day in search of a job and not to be able to find one. Many men, while out of work, contract habits which undermine their character and make them shiftless and indifferent for the remainder of their lives. In order to secure the necessities of life, the man who is out of work is compelled to seek assistance from relief agencies, both public and private. The family welfare society is always wrestling with the problem of unemployment. Even in periods of prosperity, it receives appeals from the families of men who are out of work. In periods of depression, its resources are taxed to the limit in caring for the large number of individuals and families needing attention. The first thought of the family society is to prevent suffering among the dependents of those out of work. No matter how effective the work of our relief societies may be, they cannot prevent all the physical suffering resulting from unemployment. The normal family does not think of applying to a social agency for relief until it is reduced to the last extremity. For every family out of work that applies for assistance, we may be sure that there are many that are bearing their privations quietly.

Employment Agencies.—The first and most obvious remedy for unemployment is to make available for the unemployed the

⁵ *The President's Unemployment Conference* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1921), p. 38.

existing opportunities for employment. The only means of attaining this end is through an efficient system of employment agencies. In this country we have a number of employment exchanges conducted by private philanthropic societies. We have commercial employment agencies and we have public employment agencies. The philanthropic societies which employ a full-time personnel for this specific purpose do fairly efficient employment work. Societies that endeavor to carry on employment work as a mere side issue naturally find it difficult to secure effective results. Private societies, however, find it necessary to continue their employment work even without a full-time personnel. Through the influence of their own membership, private societies frequently succeed in making very good placements—placements of a type that could never be made by commercial or public agencies.

There were between 4,000 and 5,000 commercial employment agencies in the United States in 1921.⁶ Many of these commercial agencies have been severely criticized for their exorbitant charges and their misrepresentation of opportunities for employment. The private employment business, as a whole, cannot exist on a basis of fraud and deceit. The writer feels justified in stating, after four years of experience in dealing with private employment agencies, that most of these agencies continue to exist and flourish because they render service to their clients.

Some twenty of the forty-eight states contribute to the maintenance of public employment agencies. In most of these states, the public offices have been very inefficient, owing to lack of funds and of trained personnel. During the War, a federal employment service was created under the Department of Labor for the purpose of coördinating, improving, and supplementing the various state systems. The United States Employment Service was really the first national clearing-house for labor established in this country. Those

⁶ *Waste in Industry* (Federated American Engineering Societies, Washington, 1921).

interested in employment problems believed that the work which the federal employment service did and the need it demonstrated during the War fully justified its retention as a permanent part of the machinery of the government. But the employment service apparently antagonized some powerful industrial interests and the appropriation therefore has been so reduced that it maintains only a skeleton of service.

Employment agencies, no matter how efficient, cannot create jobs. The best they can do is to distribute the existing jobs. If we are to provide even a partial solution for the problem of unemployment, we must do more than set up employment agencies. We must endeavor to regularize industry so as to lessen the hardships of seasonal unemployment. The various units of government, moreover, must so plan their public works as to utilize the largest number of men when other work is scarce. It has been estimated that if our cities, states, and federal government would set aside 10 per cent of the average amount expended in public works every year to be expended in years of depression, we could entirely abolish acute unemployment. Public work undertaken during periods of unemployment must be on a strictly commercial basis. The men must be paid the usual rate of wages and the usual requirements for efficiency ought to prevail.

Difficulty of Regularizing Employment.—Plan as we may, unemployment is bound to remain with us. It is inseparable from a changing industrial system. The demand for certain types of goods is forever changing and is necessitating constant changes in the number of persons engaged in the manufacture of these goods. The men who lose their jobs in a particular factory by reason of a falling-off in the demand for the products of that factory must find employment elsewhere. It takes time to make this adjustment, and while it is being made they are out of work. The man who is building a new factory or expanding the capacity of his present factory always expects to secure on short notice the labor necessary to take care of his new developments. Thus we always have a reserve army of

labor under our modern industrial system. Were it not for this reserve, the system would not be so elastic and it would not be possible for industry to adjust itself so readily to the changing demands that are made upon it.

We have a great many industries which, by reason of the character of their markets, cannot employ men the year round. In the bituminous coal-mining industry, the average number of working days in the year is 169 out of a possible 300. In the men's clothing industry, there is a fairly long busy season in the spring and a short busy season in the fall. These and other seasonal industries need a large supply of labor which they can keep occupied for scarcely more than half the year.

In view of the fact that industry as a whole needs a reserve army in order to maintain its elasticity, and in view of the fact that certain industries need a large number of men at the peak of their market demand who must be laid off during slack seasons, many students are beginning to ask whether unemployment is not really a necessary part of the responsibility of industry. Machinery, it is pointed out, must be maintained and rent must be paid in the slack as well as in the busy seasons. Why then should industry not have some responsibility toward the wage-earner whom it is compelled to lay off temporarily?

Unemployment Insurance in the United States.—We have had some interesting developments in the United States in recent years toward the assumption of at least a partial responsibility on the part of industry for unemployment. One of the most interesting of these is the plan put into operation in the Chicago clothing market in October, 1923. The employers and the employees by joint agreement decided to lay aside a sum equivalent to 3 per cent of their payroll as an unemployment fund. The employees through a check-off system contribute 1.5 per cent of their wages, and the manufacturers contribute an equal amount. Only members of the union who have been in good standing for a year are entitled to benefits. The amount of the benefits is 40 per cent of the full-time wages

of the worker with a maximum of twenty dollars a week, not to be paid for more than five weeks in any one year.⁷ Another very interesting method of protecting the workers against unemployment has been adopted by the ladies' garment industry in Cleveland. The plan, which is embodied in an agreement entered into between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Cleveland Garment Manufacturers' Association, provides that each worker shall be guaranteed at least forty weeks of employment each year. For every week under forty in any one year that the workers are unemployed they receive one-half of their wages. The employers have agreed to set aside 10 per cent of their weekly payroll as a fund out of which unemployment benefits are to be paid.

A number of American employers, without any trade-union pressure, have made notable progress in regularizing their employment. The Procter and Gamble Company of Cincinnati guarantees its employees full pay for forty-eight weeks in every calendar year. Other companies that have succeeded in regularizing their employment are the Hills Brothers of New York, the Dennison Manufacturing Company, the Leeds and Northrup Company of Philadelphia, and the Hood Rubber Company.⁸

The British Insurance Act of 1920.—The most comprehensive and far-reaching plan for the care of the unemployed ever adopted by any modern country was embodied in the British Insurance Act of 1920. In 1911, England adopted compulsory unemployment insurance for certain designated trades. In 1920, the act was extended to include practically all wage-earners. The workman who is out of work through no fault of his own for more than three days is entitled to a

⁷ Francis J. Haas, "A Joint Contributory Plan for Unemployment," *Catholic Charities Review*, January, 1928, pp. 15-17. Leo Wolman, "Unemployment in the Men's Clothing Industry," *Catholic Charities Review*, January, 1928, pp. 13-14.

⁸ Percy T. Brown, *Progress in Regularizing Employment* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926), pp. 352-359.

weekly benefit of fifteen shillings for twenty-six weeks in any one year. The woman who is out of work is entitled to twelve shillings a week for the same period. The cost of the unemployment insurance is borne in part by the employer, in part by the employee, and in part by the state.

Problems of Old Age.—The ordinary wage-earner looks forward to a few years before death when he will no longer be able to work. How is he to provide for himself during these last years of his life? This is the problem of old age as it affects the wage-earner. For the adult, the prospect of living to old age is very good. We know that of every hundred persons alive at twenty, sixty-four will reach the age of sixty; fifty-four the age of sixty-five; and forty-two the age of seventy. The person who has reached the age of sixty-five may expect to live eleven years longer, and at seventy he may expect an additional nine years of life.

The problem of old age does not become very serious for male wage-earners before sixty-five. The fact that a large number of men between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-five are unable to obtain work is due not so much to age as to partial or total disability resulting from sickness or accident. Superannuation is very closely associated with sickness and industrial accidents. It is after fifty that the maladjustments, excesses, and neglects of early life especially begin to make themselves felt. In early life, workmen frequently make light of the first symptoms of ill health. As they grow older, neglected health begins to tell on their vitality, and they begin to lose more and more time from their work. Very frequently they are compelled to give up their old occupations and seek lighter work.

Many of our modern industries have a tendency to superannuate the wage-earner prematurely. This is due in part to the great speed as well as the strength and endurance required by those industries, and in part to the fact that the workers are not adapted to the occupation which they selected for their life's work. As a result of two years devoted to the

study of the problem of old age, the writer found that men who were superannuated or compelled to change their occupations at fifty were very frequently among those who had taken up work for which they did not have the necessary physical strength or endurance. This, of course, is a problem that must be met by paying more attention to vocational advisement.

One of the most difficult tasks with which the social worker is called upon to deal is the finding of employment for men past fifty who, by reason of sickness, accident, or an industrial change, are compelled to give up their old occupations. The social worker will find that for every watchman's, janitor's, or street cleaner's job there are several applications. He finds, moreover, that in many places the traditional "preserves" of the old men are being invaded by young workers.

When wage-earners have worked for a particular employer for the greater part of their lives, the latter feels a certain obligation toward them in their old age. While there is no exact information on the point, it is the general experience of the writer that American employers recognize a certain obligation toward wage-earners who have served them for a long time. When they are no longer able to continue in their old employment, they are given some light work in the factory. During the course of his investigations for the Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio in 1918, the writer had occasion to come in contact with many employers who pointed with pride to their old men's departments. "Frequently old molders were found engaged in chipping light castings and old machinists were doing light filing in the foundries and machine shops in which they had worked for years."⁹

The general attitude of the American people toward old age is practically the same as their attitude toward sickness and unemployment. They feel that the person who has been

⁹ John O'Grady, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio*, p. 210.

engaged in a gainful occupation for thirty or forty years should have saved sufficient to take care of him during the last years of life. They do not realize that the wage-earner is compelled to meet many other obligations before he can set aside anything for old age, and that his first obligation is to attend to the present needs of his family. Even for the wage-earner who earns a living wage, saving for old age is by no means an easy task. Sickness and unemployment sometimes make heavy demands on him. "If the wage-earner receives a fairly good wage, if he has regular work, is frugal and his wife is a good manager, and if he and his family are blessed with good health, the chances are that when he reaches his fiftieth year he will have saved something for old age."¹⁰

But how few wage-earners are blessed with such good fortune! That a large percentage of American wage-earners are not able to save anything for old age has been clearly demonstrated by first-hand investigations of the subject.

A study of 1,432 persons over fifty years of age made by the writer in 1918 in the city of Hamilton, Ohio, for the Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of that state showed that 45.4 per cent of them had not saved anything for old age. The Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, in its studies of the aged in the cities of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Reading in 1918, found that 43.6 per cent of the population fifty years of age and over had no other source of income outside of their own earnings.¹¹

There seems to be a rather general belief that persons past sixty-five who do not have any savings can depend on their children or relatives. The writer found that 354 old and invalided persons in Hamilton were dependent on children or relatives. From studies in Hamilton, Cincinnati, and elsewhere, it was found that while one or more of the children

¹⁰ John O'Grady, "Penniless Old Age," *Catholic Charities Review*, March, 1923.

¹¹ A. Epstein, *Facing Old Age*, p. 43.

remained unmarried the aged parents were secure. Marriage, however, made a great change in the attitude of the children. A large percentage of American wage-earners are not earning sufficient to care for their own children, not to speak of maintaining their aged parents. Many parents, moreover, find it extremely difficult to get along with sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. When the parents had means of their own, it was found that it made a vast difference in their relations with their children.

For the woman without savings or without children to assist her, the problem of old age is especially serious. Large numbers of women workers receive less than living wages. If they have family responsibilities in their younger days, they are compelled to remain unmarried, and it is practically impossible for them to save for old age. Only thirty-seven of the 114 single women over fifty interviewed in Hamilton had any savings. Of the single women who have saved, comparatively few have saved sufficient to care for them in their old age. In many instances, they obtain admission to institutions for the aged which care for them for a small sum. We find, however, that these institutions are not at all adequate to the needs. Institutions which are willing to care for aged women for the sum of \$300 to \$500 invariably have long waiting-lists.

Private Old-Age Pensions.—Reference has already been made to the fact that a number of employers in this country are retaining their aged employees on their payrolls and providing light jobs for them after the period of their usefulness has passed. A limited number of American employers have organized pension systems for their superannuated employees. They have organized these pension systems with the feelings that they are discharging an obligation toward the men who have spent the greater part of their lives in the employers' service. A number of employers, moreover, believe that a pension system makes for greater efficiency in their working personnel. A worker will naturally develop a spirit

of loyalty toward a firm from which he expects to receive a pension. He will be slow to do anything which may bring down on him the ill-will of his employer. American labor organizations do not take very kindly to industrial pensions. The labor organizations are afraid that the pension may deprive the wage-earners of their freedom of action. They are continually emphasizing the fact that a pension represents a gratuity on the part of employers which can be withdrawn at any time.

In 1920 a committee of the New York Manufacturers Association found that there were between 150 and 200 industrial pension systems in the United States. Under these industrial pension plans, persons who have reached the age of seventy and have been in the service of one particular company for ten to twenty-five years are entitled to a pension. The amount of the pension is generally computed by taking 1 per cent of the average wage of the employee for the last ten years and multiplying it by the number of years of service.

The railroads were the first American corporations to establish a retirement system for their employees. The Baltimore and Ohio established the first industrial pension system in this country in 1889. Since that time, most of the American railroads have established pension systems for their employees.

State Aid for the Aged.—Among others, the government of Massachusetts and the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Minneapolis have made provision for their aged employees. Most American cities have adopted retirement systems for policemen and firemen. A federal law passed in 1920 provides for the compulsory retirement of all employees in the classified civil service of the United States who have reached the age of seventy and have rendered fifteen years of service. Mechanics, letter carriers, and post-office clerks are eligible for retirement at sixty-five, and railway mail clerks are eligible for retirement at sixty-two. Approximately one-third of the cost of the federal retirement plan is borne by the employees and the remainder by the government. The amount of the pension is based on 2 per cent

of the average annual salary multiplied by the number of years of service.¹²

In 1917, 332,554, or about half, of the public school teachers of the United States were protected by retirement systems. At that time, seventy-four local and twenty-two state teachers' retirement plans were in operation in the United States. Seventeen states had neither state nor local retirement plan, and twelve had only a few local plans.

American Trade-Unions and Old-Age Pensions.—During the past twenty-five years, American trade-unions have begun to think seriously about the problem of caring for their aged members. They have seen a great many of their older members prematurely superannuated by the introduction of new and high-powered machinery. They have felt, moreover, that the establishment of pension funds by large employers of labor would increase the control of industry over the workers and make trade-union action more difficult. In order to care for their superannuated members and to neutralize the influence of employers' pensions, the trade-unions decided that it was their duty to do something. At first they thought that they needed a number of homes where their aged members might spend their last days in peace and security, but it soon became apparent to them that the building of homes was a very expensive undertaking and was only a partial solution of the difficulty. They learned that what the aged really needed was a small allowance which would enable them to live in their own homes. To many labor organizations this seemed like a simple solution of a very difficult problem. They believed that an assessment of twenty-five cents a month per member was all that was needed to give a reasonable pension to their older members. The international typographical unions, the bricklayers, masons, plasterers, and granite-cutters adopted this seemingly simple pension plan. For a while, it looked as if their example might become contagious, and that the same plan might be accepted by the entire trade-union movement.

¹² A. Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

A number of trade-unions took favorable action, only to rescind it when they began to count the cost. A number of trade-unions discussed the matter ardently but hesitated to take action because of the cost. After more than twenty-five years of discussion, the general attitude of American labor seems to be that the care of the aged is something which cannot be undertaken either by employers or wage-earners, but that it is a function of the state. Trade-unions at present are directing their efforts toward the securing of old-age pension legislation rather than the development of trade-union pension plans.

Public Institutions for Aged.—Public provision for the aged in the United States is indeed most scanty. While we have made noteworthy progress in the care of the sick and of children, the dependent old folks are still compelled to spend their last days in what is really our poorest type of public institution, the infirmary or almshouse. To this institution were originally committed all types of public dependents needing institutional care. Various types of persons needing special care such as dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, the sick and the insane, have gradually been removed from the almshouse. But the task is still far from complete. In his study of the county infirmaries in the State of Ohio in 1918, the writer found that only slightly over 25 per cent of the inmates of these institutions belonged to the class of dependent aged persons. The other 75 per cent represented an overflow from the specialized institutions for children, the sick, the insane, and the feeble-minded.

An increasing number of communities and cities in various parts of the United States are providing for the dependent aged persons in their own homes through outdoor relief. Some public bodies have adopted this method of care because it is less expensive than institutional care. Such agencies usually give a mere pittance in the way of outdoor relief. A few public bodies here and there have adopted outdoor relief because they feel it is a more humane method of caring for the aged. They are well aware that the usual aged person will make

any sacrifice rather than spend his last days in the infirmary or almshouse.

Private Institutions for Aged.—Private institutions for the aged in the United States provide a haven for a large number of persons in their last days. In his studies of the problem of old age in Ohio, the writer found that there were forty-six private institutions for the aged in that state in 1917 caring for 2,628 persons. There are a total of 127 Catholic homes for the aged in the United States caring for 13,187 persons; forty-one of the homes caring for 7,259 persons are operated by the Little Sisters of the Poor.

In studying private institutions for the aged, whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or non-sectarian, we find that they divide themselves into two types. There is the type of home that provides for aged persons who are utterly penniless, and there is the type that provides for those who have saved a small sum for their last days but have nobody to care for them. The population of most of the free private institutions for the aged does not differ very markedly from that of the county or city infirmaries. In the former institutions as in the latter, we find a very large number of persons who have led careless and shiftless lives and have made no effort to save for old age. The part-pay institutions for the aged reach a type of person who is able to pay an admission fee of \$300 to \$500. That these pay institutions satisfy a very important need is evident from their long waiting-lists. If these institutions doubled their capacity, they could scarcely take care of the demand, all of which is another striking evidence of the fact that we have in our midst a great many persons who have saved something for their old age, but whose savings are not sufficient to meet their needs and who are loath to use the free home for the aged poor.

Progress of Old-Age Legislation in the United States.—There is in the United States a growing movement for a more adequate solution of the problem of old-age dependency. First-hand investigations have shown that nearly half of the

wage-earners in this country are unable to save for their last years of life. Those who are unable to save and who are incapacitated for work must depend on children or relatives. The maintenance of these aged parents imposes a very serious burden on their wage-earning children. In many instances, the children do not receive sufficient wages to maintain a reasonable standard of life for their own families. Private pension systems for public employees and homes for the aged take care of a small fraction of the problem of old age. It is only through a comprehensive system of old-age pensions or old-age insurance that we can ever expect to develop an adequate solution of old-age dependency. It seems to be the general opinion that, for the United States, old-age pensions offer the simplest and most practical solution of the problem. It is the solution which has been adopted in other English-speaking countries. The administration of a system of old-age pensions in this country would involve very serious difficulties. With our shifting population, it would be very difficult for the states to collect pension assessments from all wage-earners during their entire working lives.

Five state legislatures, namely, those of Arizona, Montana, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Colorado, have already enacted old-age pension laws. In Arizona and Pennsylvania, the laws have been declared unconstitutional, so that in only three American states is an old-age pension law in effect. The Montana law provides a pension of five dollars a week for all persons over seventy who have fulfilled certain qualifications as to citizenship, residence, character, and economic status.

At the present time, old-age pension legislation is being seriously considered in a number of states. In Massachusetts two commissions have reported on the problem and made recommendations to the legislature. An old-age pension commission appointed in Indiana in 1923 reported favorably on an old-age pension law for that state. A pension law was recently passed by the lower house of the New Jersey legislature. The old-age pension movement is being strongly supported by

the various labor organizations. Some employers' organizations are also sympathetic toward the movement. The greatest obstacle which the advocates of old-age pensions are encountering is the fear on the part of the states of the financial burden which the pension would impose.

Conclusion.—The questions of income and security strike at the very heart of our modern social problems. If we could only give all reasonably competent workers a living wage and protection against the hazards of life, much of the poverty and suffering that we find in our midst would be remedied. We can no longer take the naïve attitude of eighteenth-century philosophy toward these problems. We can no longer assume that competition can settle the question of income and security. Every thoughtful person recognizes that competition does not operate freely in determining the wage-earner's income and the conditions under which he labors. These matters must be regulated by law or collective action if the individual workers are to be protected against suffering and injustice. We must not assume that any one or all of the reforms discussed in this chapter offer an immediate panacea for our social ills. Each and every one of them represents a great social movement which must realize its purposes by a slow process of evolution. The evils which these movements are attacking did not develop in a day or a week, and they cannot be remedied in a day or a week. To contend that the problems of income and security cannot be solved under our present economic system is a confession of bankruptcy. We can scarcely contend that under our present industrial system we cannot pay living wages to reasonably competent workers, and that we cannot give the workers reasonable security against the hazards of life while at the same time we are developing such vast stores of wealth. Any increase in the worker's income, any measure for his protection against industrial hazards will impose an additional tax on industry, but there is at least a hope that this tax can be offset by methods of plant organization, by greater efficiency on the

part of the worker, and by giving more attention to the technical training of the worker.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What procedure is followed in the giving of workmen's compensation to an injured worker in your state?
 - A. What scale of compensation does the workmen's compensation law of your state provide:
 - (1) for temporary total disability?
 - (2) for permanent partial disability?
 - (3) for permanent total disability?
 - (4) for fatal accidents?
2. Study the child-labor law of your state with special view to the adequacy of its provisions regarding:
 - (A) age at which children are permitted to work;
 - (B) educational requirements;
 - (C) provision for attendance at continuation school;
 - (D) admission of children to physically and morally hazardous occupations;
 - (E) work outside of school hours.
3. How far has organized labor contributed to the improvement of the conditions of unskilled wage-earners in your community? What are the specific civic problems in which organized labor in your community is interested?
4. What laws have been passed by your state governing the hours of labor of men and women? How are these laws enforced?
5. What provision is made for the care of dependent aged persons in your community?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "American Minimum Wage Laws at Work," *Monthly Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, I (1920), No. 1.
- BARNETT, G. A., "Membership in American Trade Unions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1915.
- BEYER, WILLIAM C., DAVIS, REBEKAH P., and THWING, MYRA, *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* (Macmillan Co., New York, 1919).
- BROWN, PERCY T., *Progress in Regularizing Employment* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926).
- CHAPIN, R. C., *Standard of Living among Workingmen's Families in New York City* (New York Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1909).
- COMMONS, JOHN R., and ANDREWS, JOHN B., *Principles of Labor Legislation* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927).

- DOUGLAS, DOROTHY, "A Description of Standards of Living," in Douglas, Hitchcock, and Atkins, *The Worker in Modern Economic Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1923); "Cost of Living for Working Women," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 1920.
- DOUGLAS, PAUL H., *The Living Wage and Family Allowance Systems* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926).
— "Wages and Hours of Labor in the United States," *Journal of Political Economy*, January, 1921.
- DOUGLAS, HITCHCOCK, and ATKINS, *The Worker in Modern Economic Society*, (University of Chicago Press, 1923).
- EPSTEIN, A., *Facing Old Age* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922).
- FILENE, EDWARD A., "Minimum Wage and Efficiency," *American Economic Review*, September, 1923.
- FITZPATRICK, EDWARD A., "Possibilities and Limitations of Legislation with Reference to the Improvement of the Status of Low-Income Families," *Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. XI, February, 1927.
- HAAS, FRANCIS J., "Industrial Risks and Legislation," *Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. XI, April, 1927.
— "A Joint Contributory Plan for Unemployment," *Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. XII, January, 1928.
- "Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926," Bulletin No. 439, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- KLEIN, PHILIP, *Burden of Unemployment* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1923).
- LAUCK, W. J., and SYDENSTRICKER, EDGAR, *Conditions of Labor in American Industries* (Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1917).
- MAGNUSSON, LEIFUR, "Prospects for Social Insurance in the United States," *Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. X, November, 1926.
- "Minimum Wage by Law," *Monthly Review*, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, September, 1916.
- O'GRADY, JOHN, *A Legal Minimum Wage* (Washington, D. C., 1915).
— *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio, 1919).
— "Penniless Old Age," *Catholic Charities Review*, March, 1923.
- RYAN, JOHN, "The End of the Minimum Wage Laws," *Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. IX, November, 1925.
- "Standards Affecting the Employment of Minors" (January 1, 1927), Chart No. 1. Prepared by the United States Children's Bureau and reprinted by permission by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.
- The President's Unemployment Conference* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1921).

- WAGGAMAN, MARY F., "Family Allowances in Foreign Countries,"
Bulletin No. 401, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- "Workingmen's Compensation in the United States and Canada,"
Bulletin No. 401, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- Waste in Industry* (Federated American Engineering Societies,
Washington, 1921).
- WOLMAN, LEO, "Unemployment in the Men's Clothing Industry,"
Catholic Charities Review, Vol. XII, January, 1928.

CHAPTER XIII

THE POOR AND THE LAW

Modern life provides us with greatly enlarged opportunities for contact with our fellow-beings. Our lives, therefore, should be richer and fuller than those of people who lived under a less complex civilization. We have infinitely greater opportunities than our forebears of profiting from the experience and the inspiration of others. While the increased contacts of modern life have enlarged our vision and our opportunities, they have increased the possibilities for conflict in regard to rights and duties, and with increased conflicts has come the need for new definitions of rights and duties.

It is a well-recognized fact that in our definition of rights and duties we do not keep pace with the need for such definition. Hence it is that our laws governing human relations so many times represent the thinking of another age. In this situation, the poor and the weak are liable to suffer the most. The strong and powerful are quick to seize the advantages that come to them from the lack of legal protection for the poor.

Many of our laws governing industrial relations are based on assumptions that were perfectly valid a hundred years ago. Our wage legislation is based on an assumed equality of bargaining power which is at variance with the facts as we know them. It is assumed that the individual woman in quest of a job can bargain on terms of equality with an employer who employs hundreds of workers. Until very recently it was assumed that the individual woman worker was capable of bargaining on terms of equality with the large employer in regard to the number of hours she should work. Before the

coming of workmen's compensation, it was taken for granted that the injured employee was fully protected by employers' liability. Each and every individual was supposed to be responsible for the consequences of his own actions. If the injury was the result of neglect on the part of the employer, he could be forced to pay compensation by court action. If the accident was the result of the negligence of the workman, the workman had no recourse. This doctrine worked very well when industry was confined to the home, and the employer and employee were practically on a basis of equality, but with the development of large-scale industry, it worked a serious hardship on the employee. A steady advance has been made in recent years in extending the protecting arm of the state to the weaker and the less fortunately situated. The old and individualistic assumptions have gradually given way before the concept of the state as a welfare institution. We now understand that without a clear definition of their rights the weak could not secure what justly belonged to them. Hence we find that the state has come to define in specific legal terms the rights of children as against parents, industry, and commercial recreation. It has defined the rights of women in industry; and, to a more limited degree, it has defined the industrial rights of men. Through workmen's compensation legislation, it has established the principle that industrial accidents are a necessary part of the cost of production to be passed on to the consumer in the form of increased prices.

Failure of Law to Keep Pace with Human Needs.—In our rapidly changing social and industrial conditions, it is not easy to make the law keep pace with the new conditions it is expected to meet. In this respect, the law is not different from other human institutions. Human needs always expand more rapidly than the mechanisms which have been devised to meet them. Old methods and assumptions usually work out very well for the stronger and more ambitious members of the community who have at their disposal the forces that control public opinion. It is only when the old methods bring suf-

fering to large groups of people that it becomes possible to organize an effective protest. The idealist and the serious student of human rights may protest to his heart's content, but he cannot get very far in changing conditions until he is able to organize a respectable following; and in developing his following, he must always reckon with the force of inertia and with the opposition of the self-satisfied and the self-centered.

We are too liable to assume that, once a law has been passed, its administration will take care of itself. Those who were very enthusiastic about its enactment are, therefore, liable to slacken their vigilance. The public as a whole becomes passive and indifferent, with the inevitable result that the law becomes a dead letter, or is administered in a careless or indifferent fashion. Many times we hear of states passing very up-to-date social legislation; but, to our disappointment, when we visit these states, we find that by reason of lack of funds or by reason of general public indifference, the legislation is very poorly administered. It requires constant pressure on the part of an enlightened public opinion to secure effective enforcement of social legislation.

There is a very general impression that the poor suffer more from their failure to profit by existing laws than from lack of legislation protecting their rights. Many workers, when they speak of inequality before the law, have in mind primarily the procedural laws. The courts of justice are open to all persons, independent of rank or station in life. This, however, gives small consolation to the workman who has a twenty-dollar wage claim and needs the money to support his family. He may need a lawyer to bring his case into court and the services of a lawyer cost money which he does not have. Then court action is proverbially slow, and he may have to wait a long time before he gets a decision.

We find in every city a great many persons who are not acquainted with their legal rights or do not know how to secure them. These persons are an easy prey for the loan-

shark and the dishonest employer or landlord. Their problem is primarily a problem of education. We must strive through our citizenship classes, our community houses, and our case-working agencies to acquaint them with their legal rights, and we must bring to them a knowledge of the agencies of the community that are ready and willing to assist them in securing their rights. There is very little use in organizing agencies for the securing of legal rights for the poor if they are unacquainted with these agencies.

Major Difficulties of Poor before the Law.—There are three major difficulties that the poor experience in securing their rights; these are the law's delay, court costs, and the expense of counsel. The law's delay militates against the poor in two ways: in the first place, by making the time necessary to secure a judgment so long that the poor person gives up hope; and second, by forcing unfair settlements.¹

In wage claims, and in suits for the recovery of property, speed is all-important for the poor man. In these cases a long-drawn-out suit is liable to mean serious suffering and deprivation. The delays encountered in court procedure are usually of two kinds, delays in getting the case heard after its entry in court, and delays occasioned by the taking of appeals to higher courts.

In reference to delays which mar the existing administration of justice, Mr. Reginald Heber Smith says, "they are made possible by a faulty court organization and our thoroughly antiquated system of civil and criminal procedure. With the unification of court organization and the simplification of procedure unconscionable delay will be swept away."²

Court costs and fees constitute the second major difficulty which blocks the way of justice for the poor man. The costs and fees which he is compelled to meet are the costs of the

¹ Reginald Heber Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919), p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

trial court, including "the writ or summons, the service of process, entry fee, calendar fee, trial fee, entry of judgment and issuance of execution." Costs on appeal include "the entry fee, the expense of making up and presenting the record of the case on appeal or on exceptions or on writ of error."³ There are also costs "for witness fees, briefs and transcript of evidence."⁴ There are two principal solutions of the problem of court costs as it affects the poor litigant: "a general application of the procedure 'in forma pauperis,' which would permit the poor man to sue in any court without costs, and the placing of a fund at the disposal of the court which can be used for witness fees, briefs and transcripts of evidence for poor persons."

No matter how far we may progress in the simplification of our legal processes, we find that the services of the lawyer are still necessary. In the administration of all law there is constantly growing up a body of experience and of precedents which it is impossible for the layman to disentangle. Persons with means come into court fortified by high-priced counsel. If the poor are to secure their rights, they too must have the assistance of counsel, and, of course, the employment of counsel costs money. It costs more than the poor are able to pay. Mr. Smith estimates that there are some eight million adults in the United States who cannot afford to pay lawyers' fees and, therefore, do not know where to turn when legal difficulties arise. This means that about one-fifth of the gainfully employed adults in the United States are unable to pay for a service that is sometimes most essential to their welfare. It should give every social worker a new interest in securing legal aid free of charge for the poor.

Before reviewing the various methods that have been used to alleviate the legal difficulties of the poor, it may be well for

³ Reginald Heber Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919), p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

us to understand in detail some of the legal problems which the social agency meets. The legal problems most commonly encountered with the poor center around debt claims, wage payments, payment of rent, domestic relations, and accident compensation.

Debt Claims.—Sometimes creditors are unreasonable in harassing poor families; they endeavor to attach the wages or personal property of the poor in order to satisfy their claims. The writer can recall instances where creditors have approached employers and caused their poor debtors to lose their positions. We also find cases in which creditors try to collect unconscionably large amounts from the poor. A frail little woman came to a legal aid bureau with a court summons. She had with her two children, four and eight years of age respectively. Her husband, an unskilled wage-earner, making \$24 a week, was being sued by a collection agency on behalf of a dentist. It seems that the dentist, an extraction specialist, had performed a simple cuspid operation for him; no anesthetic was administered, and there was no subsequent treatment. The man paid \$20—all the money he had, but the dentist presented a bill for an additional \$100. Unaware of the legal implications, the man technically admitted the debt by accepting the mailed statement of the dentist. Failing to receive the additional payment, the dentist turned the matter over to a collection agency, which immediately brought suit. After the legal aid bureau had taken the case before the central dental association, and at a hearing in court demanded a jury trial, the collection agency agreed to settle for an additional twenty dollars.

Wage Payments.—A great body of legislation has been enacted in the United States in recent years for the purpose of protecting the worker's rights to his wage. This legislation secures the worker's wages, up to a certain amount, against attachment and execution for debt; specifies the time and form of wage payment; makes the wage-earner a preferred creditor; and in default of the employer, gives him a

right to a mechanic's lien against the work he has performed.⁵

All this legislation will be of very little account to the worker who is unacquainted with his rights or does not know how to go about securing them. We find employers who are willing to take advantage of the worker by making unreasonable deductions, by deferring payment, or by refusing to pay him his wages.

Mr. D., a non-union carpenter earning an average of \$35 a week, had to seek legal assistance in collecting his wages three times during a period of eighteen months. In the first instance, the employer sold his holdings and disappeared; after a long search he was found, judgment was secured, and collection made. In the second instance, threatened litigation secured the payment of the bill. In the third instance, the employer's financial condition was such as to make collection from him impossible. Therefore, a mechanic's lien was taken out against the building on which the man had worked and the owner was compelled to pay his wages. Without the assistance of counsel, this workman would not have known where to turn in order to secure his rights.

Payment of Rent.—Under a system of laissez-faire economy, the unskilled wage-earner is very largely at the mercy of the landlord in the matter of housing. Theoretically he is free to move if he is not satisfied, but in practice this amounts to very little. Large numbers of persons who live close to the verge of poverty are not aware of the consequences of poor lighting, poor ventilation, or unsanitary plumbing. Even if aware of these things, they cannot improve their condition for the rent they are able to pay. In order to protect them against the consequences of poor and unsanitary housing conditions, many of our states and cities have passed laws and ordinances for the purpose of securing certain minimum housing standards. Our laws and ordinances fix minimum standards for light, ventilation, sanitary conveniences, security from fire,

⁵ John R. Commons and John B. Andrews, *The Principles of Labor Legislation* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1927), pp. 48-52.

and the like. "On no other subject, perhaps," says Dr. Devine, "have we gone so far in putting into the form of laws and ordinances our social standards as we have in some cities on the subject of housing."⁶

Many poor persons continue to live under unhealthful and unsanitary housing conditions because they are ignorant of their rights under the housing code of their city and state. It is only the threat of legal action that will compel many landlords to keep their houses in reasonably good repair, and in the bringing of legal action the poor are at a disadvantage because they are unable to pay for the services of a lawyer. The social agency endeavors to secure for the poor certain minimum standards of housing. It also makes it virtually impossible for the landlord to evict them without reasonable notice.

Domestic Difficulties.—It may be that wealthy and middle-class families have as many domestic difficulties as the poor, but such difficulties do not mean as much suffering and privation for these classes of society as for the poor. When domestic difficulties arise in a family with a fairly large and secure income, attorneys are consulted and an effort is made in behalf of both sides to get together. Failing this, the case runs its course in the court, a separation is granted and the man is ordered to pay a regular separation allowance. There is no way in which the man can evade payment without having his property attached or losing his standing in the community. Hence, for the upper and middle-class family, the securing of a separation allowance is almost entirely a legal problem. The court must be satisfied in regard to the evidence presented and in regard to the man's ability to pay a certain specific allowance. For the poor family, the difficulty of securing a separation allowance is far more serious. The poor man has no property that can be attached. He can move around

⁶ Edward T. Devine, *The Normal Life* (Douglas C. McMurtrie Co., New York, 1917), p. 137.

easily from one position to another. It is, therefore, much easier for the poor man to evade payments of his separation allowance than for a person higher up in the economic scale. He really has to fear nothing except imprisonment, and in this regard he is frequently willing to take his chances. He may be able to evade the clutches of the law; he may not be found, or if he is, he may be given another trial with a promise of doing better.

In dealing with problems of non-support and separation and other domestic difficulties, it is necessary to proceed much more carefully in dealing with poor families than with those in the middle class and upper class. In dealing with the poor in this matter, we need much more than a formal legal procedure. What is really most important is close coöperation between the case worker and the lawyer. The social worker must use all the resources of his art in getting the man to recognize his responsibilities. He always has in reserve the power of the law, but he is well aware of the limitations of the law in the securing of his objectives.

The poor do not always know where to turn for legal assistance in their domestic difficulties, and when they do receive legal assistance it is not always of the type that they need. The poor really need a higher type of legal aid than the upper class or middle class do. They need a type of legal aid that is fortified by the best that social case work has to offer, a type of aid that is based not only on a careful legal approach but also on a careful social study of each case.

Workmen's Compensation.—With the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation, many persons assumed that the services of the lawyer and the social worker would no longer be needed in the field of industrial accidents. The theory of negligence was practically eliminated and the payment of compensation was supposed to be a matter of routine. The laws were supposed to be so clear as to leave no question for court action. Many of the state industrial accident and

compensation commissions were prepared to give workmen such advice and counsel as they needed to enforce their claims. In the administration of compensation laws, however, many cases have arisen in which the services of the lawyer and the social worker are very necessary. In the first place, we find a large number of cases in which the worker is unacquainted with his rights under the law. A workman receives an injury which at first appears to be very slight; he fails to report it, and after a few days the injury becomes serious. Second, we find cases in which the insurance company is ready to contest the worker's right to compensation. Among other things, the company may contend that the injury did not arise out of or take place during the course of work—that it simply aggravated a previously existing physical defect. The company, moreover, may contend that the injured employee was grossly and wilfully negligent, or that he was under the influence of drink. Third, we find cases in which the insurance company endeavors to prove that the worker is malingering, that the accident is not sufficiently serious to incapacitate him for work, or that he has fully recovered and is postponing unnecessarily his return to work. Fourth, from the standpoint of the social case worker, the waiting period and insufficient compensation present serious problems. The usual waiting period of two weeks is liable to mean serious suffering for the unskilled wage-earner and his family. There is, however, a tendency to shorten the waiting period to one week, and to make compensation retroactive for disablements lasting for a longer period.

The amount of compensation paid is insufficient to meet the needs of the unskilled wage-earner and his family. In a number of states injured employees receive only 50 per cent of their wages. In the past few years, a number of states have increased their compensation rates to $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the wages for temporary total and permanent total disability. This means that the ordinary unskilled wage-earner who is

disabled by an industrial accident receives about ten to fifteen dollars a week during the period of his disability.⁷

Means for Securing Justice for Poor.—The various methods that have been used to secure for the poor a more equal measure of justice before the law may be reduced to five: small claims courts, courts of domestic relations, administrative boards and commissions, public counsel, and private legal aid societies.

1. *The Small Claims Court.* The best type of small claims court "secures the advantages of simplicity, cheapness and speed without sacrificing any fundamentals. It is justice by trained judges, who although given wide discretion by the statute in fact decide cases according to the substantive law and not their own arbitrary opinion of right and wrong."⁸ In the small claims court, the poor man does not have to wait months in order to have his case heard and adjudicated and he does not need the services of a lawyer in presenting his case. The officials of the court are ready and willing to assist him with the points of law involved.

The conciliation branch of the municipal court of Cleveland, which is one of the best courts of its type in the country, is described by Smith as follows: "a person goes to the clerk of the conciliation branch, who has a separate office exactly like a legal aid society, where the person may feel at home, and at liberty to talk the difficulty over with the clerk. If the dispute seems to be one that offers fair hope of immediate adjustment, the clerk, like a legal aid society attorney, telephones or writes the defendant and endeavors to secure an amicable settlement. If that fails or if the case at once appears likely to demand judicial consideration, the clerk fills out on the court docket a very brief statement of the claim which the plaintiff signs. A date for hearing—the defendant being entitled to three days' notice—is at once assigned, the plaintiff being

⁷ Lindley D. Clark, "Legal Aid Activities of Compensation Commissions," *Catholic Charities Review*, September, 1927.

⁸ R. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

given a little card bearing the date, the time, the court room and the court address and telephone number. A summons is made out and delivered to the bailiff, who deposits a copy in the mail box, and certifies to that effect on the original summons.”⁹

One of the moot questions concerning the small claims court at present is the size of the claim over which the court should have jurisdiction. The small claims court, as a rule, does not have jurisdiction over amounts exceeding fifty dollars. There seems to be serious question about the advisability of applying informal procedure in cases involving larger amounts.

2. *The Domestic Relations Court.* The domestic relations court represents an effort toward socialized treatment of family difficulties. It is in line with the general tendency in modern social case work to deal with the family as a unit. It is a recognized principle among social case workers that children can no longer be dealt with apart from their families, and that we cannot deal with questions of separation, desertion, and non-support apart from other problems of family life. We find, however, that in practice very few so-called domestic relations courts deal with all the problems of family life. There seems to be a concrete difficulty in the way of giving domestic relations courts such broad jurisdiction. It is felt that no matter how desirable it may be in theory, one court cannot do justice to so many diverse problems. The ordinary domestic relations court deals with difficulties between parents that may lead to the breaking-up of the family. A number of courts dealing with children's cases also have jurisdiction in non-support cases and in cases involving neglect of and responsibility for delinquencies of children on the part of parents.

The proceedings of the domestic relations court secure for the poor and for persons of small means the three essentials of simplicity, speed, and cheapness. A large percentage of cases are usually settled without the formality of court pro-

⁹ R. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

cedure. The domestic relations court depends more on conciliation than on formal adjudication of legal difficulties. In order to do the best work, this type of court must be prepared to profit by the best that modern case work has to offer. It needs the assistance of trained case workers in order to pass intelligently on the domestic difficulties that present themselves.

3. *Public Boards and Commissions.* The increasing complexity of modern social and industrial life has given a new importance to public boards and commissions in the administration of law. Legislative bodies have come to recognize that they cannot detail all the possible conditions to which law should be applied. On many questions, therefore, they have confined themselves to laying down general principles, leaving to administrative boards and commissions the application of these principles to specific situations as they arise. Legislatures found it impossible to prescribe in detail the various rates to be charged by railroads and other public service corporations. They have, therefore, satisfied themselves with laying down the general rule that rates shall be sufficient to yield a reasonable return on the capital invested, and have established public service commissions to apply the principle of reasonable rates to specific cases. In the enactment of safety legislation, the legislatures could not possibly prescribe the safety devices to be used for different types of machinery or for different types of factories. Again, they satisfied themselves with general principles to be applied in detail by industrial commissions.

In the administration of legislation for the protection of the weaker classes of society, we cannot rely on the ordinary courts of justice. If we continued to rely on ordinary court procedure, the wage-earner would have to fight an unequal battle. Accordingly, public commissions have been set up to see to it that our protective laws satisfy the purpose for which they are intended. Special commissions have been organized to administer workmen's compensation legislation, or the ad-

ministration has been turned over to existing commissions charged with the administration of other forms of labor legislation. The same procedure has been followed with safety legislation, with legislation governing the hours of labor, and with child-labor legislation.

In workmen's compensation we have the most outstanding illustration of board administration of protective legislation in the United States. In ordinary cases of industrial accidents, compensation is paid by the employer or the insurance company without any recourse to court action. In order to protect the wage-earner against possible injustice, however, the best compensation laws provide that all settlements must be registered with the state industrial accident or compensation commissions. If the wage-earner finds any difficulty in securing compensation, the representatives of the state commission are ready to assist him in presenting his case. In cases which must be passed upon by the ordinary courts, and in cases in which there is doubt about the application of the law, the commission can do very little. In such cases, the workmen must rely on the private lawyer or the legal aid society.

4. *Legal Counsel for the Poor.* Even with the development of small claims courts, courts of domestic relations, and administrative boards and commissions, we still find a number of cases in which the poor need the services of an attorney. By reason of the limitations on the jurisdiction of small claims courts, the rank and file of wage-earners have many cases which cannot be adjudicated in these courts. When the non-supporting husband comes into court with the lawyer, the wife will also find it necessary to have a lawyer to assist in the presentation of her case. There are many cases of industrial accidents which must be taken to the courts, and there are also many cases on which the commission must sit in judgment, and it cannot very well play the rôles of judge and counsel at the same time. In the administration of law as it affects the poor, there is still a very large field for the services of the attorney, and since the poor are unable to pay

for the attorney's services, legal aid must be provided for them by the state or some private legal aid society.

Assigned counsel is the oldest form of public legal aid. It is a part of the traditional legal doctrine that the courts may assign attorneys to those who are unable to pay on the ground that they are the agents of the courts. While this power of the courts looms very large in theory, it amounts to little in actual practice, at least so far as criminal cases are concerned. The assignment by courts in civil cases is practically nonexistent. Speaking of the assignment of counsel in criminal cases, Mr. Smith says, "In murder cases the assignment of counsel has been reasonably successful, often brilliantly so, and in all other cases it has been a dismal failure."¹⁰

The assigned council in murder cases is willing to work hard, according to the writer already cited, because of the publicity attached to murder trials. So much publicity does not attach to the ordinary criminal cases. It is, therefore, exceedingly difficult to get the best type of lawyer to plead these cases.

The failure of assigned counsel to secure the legal rights of the poor has led to a movement for the appointment of a new public official known as the public defender, whose office is supposed to be on a par with that of the district attorney. The movement has already brought concrete results in a number of jurisdictions. In 1914, a public defender was appointed for Los Angeles county. In 1915, public defenders were appointed in Portland, Oregon, and in Omaha, Nebraska.

So far, the work of the public defender has been confined very largely to criminal cases. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that legal aid societies have confined their activities to the field of civil law and that in criminal law there was a most urgent need of public service for poor litigants.

First organized in New York in 1876, private legal aid has been extended gradually throughout the entire country. The

¹⁰ R. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

genesis of the movement is described by Mr. Reginald H. Smith as follows, "From its original position as a sort of proprietary organization with the narrow mission of aiding only a limited group it broadened out and took on the stature of a charity anxious to help all who needed its assistance but still viewing its object as the dispensing of legal assistance."¹¹

Private legal aid work in the United States is carried on by specially organized societies or by charity organizations as a part of their regular functions. It is only in the larger cities that it has been possible to organize special societies for legal aid. In most cities, the charity organizations have been compelled to make special provision for those unable to meet the expenses of legal counsel. Legal aid is an essential part of any program of family social work. If the family society is not in a position to avail itself of the services of an existing legal aid bureau, it must organize its own legal aid. If the family society has a large number of legal aid problems and commands ample resources, it will naturally organize its own legal aid department with one or more full-time lawyers in charge. The smaller family society must be satisfied with volunteer counsel.

It cannot be expected that volunteer counsel will do as intensive and as successful work as full-time counsel. Many organizations expect too much of volunteer lawyers. They expect lawyers to give too much service free of charge. Many of the disadvantages of volunteer counsel can be overcome by better organization and wider distribution of responsibilities. Every organization is naturally interested in securing a wider lay participation in its work. Here is an opportunity of interesting an influential professional group in active service. It is an opportunity for the social organization to make its work better known. Large numbers of lawyers are willing to serve if they can only be organized. If an organization has a large active committee of lawyers, it should be easy to distribute

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

the work so as not to impose too heavy a burden on any one person.

Legal aid in the field of criminal law has been traditionally a public function. For the defense of the poor man who is charged with a crime we depend on assigned counsel or the public defender. There is every indication that we are going to look more and more to the public defender in this field. In civil procedure, the largest part of the legal aid work is done by private societies. It is very evident that in this field also there will be an increasing demand for public work. There are many cities in which private legal aid has not been developed. In those cities, we must look to a public agency to aid the poor in their legal difficulties.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the methods employed by the social agencies of your city in securing legal aid for the poor.

2. Study the method of securing compensation used by one victim of an industrial accident in your state.

3. Study the methods used by the court in your city dealing with domestic relations cases. What facilities does the court have for careful study of these cases?

4. Can you think of any legal disabilities of the poor not discussed in this chapter?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BRADWAY, JOHN S., *Social Work and the Law: Legal Aid* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1926).

—*The Legal Point of View* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1923).

CLARK, LINDLEY D., "Legal Aid Activities of Compensation Commissions," *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), No. 7.

COMMONS, JOHN R., and ANDREWS, JOHN B., *Principles of Labor Legislation* (Harper & Bros., New York, 1927).

DEVINE, EDWARD T., *The Normal Life* (Douglas C. McMurtrie Co., New York, 1917).

KIRCHWEY, GEORGE W., *Social Work and the Law: Forms of Co-operation between Law and Social Work* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1916).

Legal Aid Review (published Quarterly by the New York Legal Aid Society).

"Legal Aid Work," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1926.

PARRY, SIR EDWARD, *The Poor and the Law* (Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1914).

SMITH, REGINALD HEBER, *Justice and the Poor* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919).

—and BRADWAY, JOHN S., "Growth of Legal Aid Work in the United States" (1916), Bulletin No. 398, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

WALDO, ALICE, *Social Point of View in Legal Aid Work* (National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, 1923).

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK

Charity and the Teaching of Christ.—The love of our neighbors is an essential part of the Christian philosophy of life. In the teaching of Christ Himself it is inseparably bound up with the love of God. On a certain occasion, in answer to a doctor of the law who had questioned Him, He summed up His whole teaching in two commandments, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like to this. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."¹ In the course of His public teaching Our Saviour made it clear that the second commandment was inseparably bound up with the first. In fact, He made the love of neighbor the real test of Christian faith. "By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another." Christ's own life was a concrete exemplification of His teaching on charity. He gave His whole life to the welfare of mankind. He used His divine power in order to provide bread for the hungry, to restore sight to the blind, and to make the lame walk.

Charity is really the teaching of Christ in action. It seeks to bring the blessings, the graces and consolations of Christian living to all mankind. It sees in every man, no matter what his race or color, a brother in Christ, redeemed by Christ's precious blood, and an heir to the Kingdom of Heaven. And it does not rest satisfied until he is introduced into his heritage. Charity has a predilection for those who need spe-

¹ *St. Matt. XXII. 37, 38, 39.*

cial assistance in order to attain the fundamental purposes of human life. It lavishes particular attention on the weak of body and mind. It recognizes in this a special call to service, a special challenge to its zeal and ingenuity. It extends a helping hand to those who do not recognize their individual or family responsibilities, to those whom misfortune may have deprived of the things necessary for their sustenance, to those from whom ill health or industrial accidents may have taken away their earning powers. Great leaders in the Church like St. Francis of Assisi and St. Vincent de Paul have found an outlet for their faith and their zeal in reëncending the fire of charity among the masses of the people. In its spiritual ministry the Church has never lost sight of the needs of the poor. "Such was the ardor of brotherly love among the earliest Christians," says Pope Leo XIII, "that numbers of those who were in better circumstances despoiled themselves of their possessions in order to relieve their brethren, whence neither was there one needy among them." "To the order of deacons, instituted in that very interest," the Pope goes on to say, "was committed by the apostles the charge of the daily doles, and the Apostle Paul, though burdened with the solicitude of all the Churches, hesitated not to undertake laborious journeys in order to carry the alms of the faithful to the poorer Christians."² From the very beginning, the Church has had its special organization to give the laity an opportunity of sharing in the ministry of charity. She has recognized from the very beginning her duty of interpreting the obligations of Christian charity and of teaching her children how to discharge these obligations effectively. Hence it is that in every land where the Church has extended her sway we find organizations of the laity actively engaged in works of charity.

Lay organizations for charity work are viewed as an essential part of the mechanism of any well organized parish.

² Leo XIII, Pope, *Great Encyclicals* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1903), p. 226.

The well-informed and conscientious pastor feels that without lay charitable organizations his people may be deprived of the opportunity of carrying out an essential part of the obligations of the Christian life. After all, what is the use of teaching the people the obligations of neighborly service if we do not point out to them or give to them the opportunity to participate in works of service?

The Priest and Social Work.—The priest as an interpreter of Christ's teaching will recognize that many of the wounds of society that are slowly sapping away the very vitals of the poor and the weak cannot be remedied merely by kindly advice or material relief. He will realize that the only means of remedying our social evils is by a wider respect for human rights and human dignity in all our social and industrial relations. The two fundamental Christian doctrines of the stewardship of wealth and respect for the rights of others will do more than anything else to solve our social difficulties. The priest through his work in the confessional, his daily contacts with the people through his organization work, and his influence in social and civic movements can do much to spread the doctrine of the stewardship of wealth. The organized methods of raising funds for social, educational, and religious projects developed since the war, have done much to get a larger number of people to recognize the stewardship of wealth. But we are still far from the point of diminishing returns in securing contributions for our charities. Large numbers have still scarcely begun to recognize the obligations of the wealthy toward those in need. It must be remembered that many of the evils from which the poor suffer are due to the maladjustments of our social and industrial order, to insufficient wages, to lack of opportunities for gainful employment, to lack of proper health facilities in our communities, to the failure of the law and the courts in securing their rights, to the advantages which the stronger and those in more favored economic position are given in dealing with them. The problems of the poor cannot therefore be remedied

entirely by relieving their present needs. Charity must go hand in hand with the application of the principles of justice in social and industrial relations. Those who are interested in practical works of charity must ever strive for the improvement of social and industrial conditions so that the weaker classes may be able to bear life's burdens more easily. The ministers of the gospel must not satisfy themselves with preaching the doctrines of charity. They must also preach the doctrines of justice. If industry were organized on Christian principles, if the wealthy and the powerful were not so much inclined to utilize the advantages they enjoy in order to deprive the weak of their heritage, there would be far less poverty and suffering in the world.

Parish Organizations for Charity Work.—The Catholic organizations engaged in charity work are of two general types, parish and city-wide organizations. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul is the best known and most widely accepted parish organization for charity work. The Society was organized in Paris in 1833 by Frederick Ozanam. It was Ozanam's purpose to band together a number of young men who by their example would give a practical demonstration of the value of Christian teaching. He also believed that getting the laity to participate actively in works of charity was the best means of developing a true Christian democracy.

The ordinary parish St. Vincent de Paul conference consists of from ten to fifteen men who are willing to give part of their time to the work of assisting needy families in their own homes. The conference meets regularly once a week. In order that politics may be removed as much as possible from the society, the rules provide that the officers be elected for life. The conference opens all its meetings with prayer followed by spiritual reading. The members then make their reports on families under care, and after this, new cases are presented for discussion. There are in the United States some thirteen hundred conferences of the St. Vincent de Paul So-

ciety, representing a membership of 17,000 Catholic laymen. It may be safely said that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul secures a wider, more active and intelligent lay participation in Catholic work than any similar organization in the United States and for that matter, in the world. The society is really a world-wide organization. There is no country in which it may not be found carrying on its mission of unselfish service.

The St. Vincent de Paul Society is really a religious society for Catholic laymen to give them an opportunity of joining actively in the charitable ministrations of the Church. It offers an excellent medium not only for ministering to the needy but also for improving the spiritual life of its own members. There certainly could be no better means of developing more sympathy, more charity, more unselfish interest in the affairs of our fellow-beings, than by active participation in works of service such as we find in the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

Since the work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is really a part of the spiritual work of the Church and since it is so closely allied with the Church in its parish organization, the society evidently cannot thrive without the active interest and support of pastors. This is really the first requisite for its success. A pastor may be a great source of inspiration or discouragement to his parish conference.

The second requisite for the success of the parish conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is an active and interested group of laymen. Before the conference is organized the members must be specially selected with a view to their interest in the work and their ability to give time and attention to it. Attention must also be given to the preparation of the men for their work and to the development of a specific program of activities.

It would be rash to assume that a group of volunteer laymen could deal successfully with the most difficult problems of family life without some special preparation for the work

and without a definite and specific program. This means close working relationships with an organization employing a full-time trained personnel.

The third requisite for the success of a parish conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society is the development of close working relationships with an organization employing a full-time trained personnel. Full-time trained workers can point out to the volunteers opportunities for service. They can point out to them such opportunities as can be taken care of by volunteer laymen. The full-time workers can therefore assist in bringing about a division of labor between themselves and the volunteers and they can assist the volunteers by advice and direction.³

Organizations of Catholic Women.—The Society of St. Vincent de Paul is exclusively a men's organization. There is a parallel organization for women known as the Ladies of Charity. While the Ladies of Charity is a much older organization, having been established by St. Vincent de Paul himself, it has not made as much progress in the United States as the St. Vincent de Paul Society.⁴ In no city in the country outside of New York and St. Louis have the Ladies of Charity been organized on a large scale. In New York City the organization has sixty parish units. Outside of New York and St. Louis the Ladies of Charity have one or more branches in Huntsville, Alabama; Wilmington, Delaware; Washington, D. C.; Keokuk, Iowa; New Orleans, La.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Pittsburg, Pa.; and Nashville, Tenn. In a number of cities various other women's organizations are doing the same type of work as the Ladies of Charity. These organizations are known as Ladies' Aid Societies, and Guilds. In some places, parish sodalities that have been organized pri-

³ William F. Igoe, "Lay Participation in Catholic Charity," *Proceedings of National Conference of Catholic Charities* (1927), pp. 13-18. John O'Grady, "St. Vincent de Paul," *Catholic Charities Review*, vol. XI, September 1927, pp. 280-282; Wm. J. Kerby, *Social Mission of Charity*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921.

⁴ Cyprian Emanuel, *The Charities of St. Vincent de Paul* (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, 1923), pp. 260-266.

marily for religious work have taken up volunteer social work with families, as a part of their program. A few city-wide organizations of Catholic women, like the Catholic Women's League of Detroit and the Green Bay Apostolate, have organized branches to work with pastors for families needing service or relief, or to perform other tasks assigned to them.

Development of Catholic Child-Caring Institutions.—From the very beginning it was apparent that there were many charity problems coming within the province of the Church that the parish could not meet. The most outstanding of these problems was the care of children away from their own homes. In the second quarter of the last century the care of children who had been deprived of one or both parents became a pressing problem in the larger centers of Catholic population in the United States. Large numbers of immigrants from European countries had begun to pour into these centers. Many of them became victims of the epidemics which were quite prevalent at the period and left their children dependent on charity. The Church felt itself in duty bound to meet the needs of the situation. If some provision was not made for the care of dependent and neglected children, there was a danger that they would be lost to the Church forever. In some places the bishops established diocesan orphan asylums to care for the child away from home. In a number of cities the religious communities came to the rescue and built, manned, and equipped their own institutions.

Some of the immigrant nationalities brought over with them to the United States well-established traditions of group insurance. In the old lands they had become accustomed to banding themselves together for protection against industrial hazards like accidents, sickness, premature death, and old age. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them adopting a similar plan for the care of their dependent children in American cities. The child-caring institutions established by a number of immigrant nationalities were really coöperative enterprises. They were operated by associations with a large

membership. These associations elected their officers annually and gave them rather limited authority. As a very general rule all matters of importance had to be passed upon by the entire membership at its regular meetings.

The child-caring institutions established by these national associations were intended primarily for their own membership. Every member felt that in paying dues he was acquiring a right to have his own children cared for if they should become orphans or half-orphans.

In the beginning there was very little thought of specialization in the work of Catholic child-caring homes. It was thought that the same home would satisfy the needs of children of every age and description. The first type of specialized home to be established was the home for babies. It was felt that the care of babies was really a hospital problem and demanded a different type of institutional régime. Later a number of industrial schools were established for the training of older boys and girls who could not be cared for in the ordinary orphan home. In a few dioceses homes have been established for deaf, feeble-minded, and blind children.

Volume of Catholic Child Care in the United States.—

There are in the United States at the present time 558 Catholic child-caring homes caring for approximately 81,000 children. There are 34 Catholic homes caring for 6,856 mentally and physically defective children.⁵

Within the past fifteen years child placing under Catholic auspices has assumed rather large proportions. There are now some fifteen Catholic agencies engaged in placing children in boarding and free homes. These agencies have about 11,000 children under care. The Catholic child-placing agencies are not intended to take the place of institutions. They are intended rather to supplement the institutions by caring for certain types of children that cannot be taken care of by the institutions.

⁵ *Official Catholic Directory* (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1927).

The day-nursery has been closely associated with the institution in Catholic child care. The nursery provides care for the children of mothers who must go out to work. The mothers leave their children at the nursery on their way to work and return for them on their way home. They are thus given an opportunity of combining gainful work with the care of children in their own homes. How far this combination works to the interest of the mother and children will, of course, depend on her physical strength, the type of work in which she is engaged, the distance she must travel in getting to the nursery, and the number and ages of her children. There are a total of 100 Catholic day-nurseries in the United States caring for approximately 25,000 children.

Catholic Settlements.—By reason of the great influx of immigrants, beginning with the eighties of the last century, many of the immigrant sections of American cities grew so rapidly that the Church through its parish organizations was unable to care adequately for their spiritual needs. There was danger that thousands of children would be lost to the faith, by reason of the inability of the parish or the parochial school to reach them. This was a great opportunity for a new religious apostolate. In some cities lay organizations like the Catholic Women's League of Detroit, the Christ Child Society of Washington, and the Ladies of Charity in New York City were quick to seize the opportunity. Many communities, such as the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Philadelphia; the Mission Helpers of the Holy Souls in Purgatory in New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco; the Sisters of the Holy Family of San Francisco; the Sisters of the Most Blessed Trinity of Cottonton, Alabama, have given special attention to the problems arising out of this new situation.

Out of the various efforts to meet the needs of immigrants in American cities arose what has come to be known as the Catholic settlement program. Catholic settlement work has as its basic purpose the meeting of such religious needs as cannot be met by the ordinary parish organizations of the

Church. It also supplements the work of the educational, recreational, and cultural agencies of the community. In studying the history of Catholic settlements we find that most of them began with classes in religious instruction for children. An organization of Catholic women or a religious community finds that in a certain section of a city the religious training of Catholic children is being neglected. A class in Christian doctrine is organized. Later, clubs are organized for both boys and girls. Mothers' clubs and classes in English and citizenship are established as the need for them becomes evident. Such is the genesis of most of the Catholic settlements. Some of the more recently established Catholic settlements began with a rather systematic program based on the needs of their particular neighborhoods. They have been endeavoring to fill such needs as were not being met by existing agencies. In one center the greatest need may be health. The settlement therefore emphasizes health work in its program through the institution if possible of a free clinic. In another center the residents may have no facilities for bathing in their own homes and there may be no public bath-house. In this case the settlement may take as one of its principal works the providing of free bathing facilities for the people of the district. The Catholic settlement, like other settlements, is essentially a pioneering institution. It touches districts of our cities that are not being reached by the parishes. Its ultimate purpose should be to pave the way for the extension of the work of existing parishes or the organization of new parishes. A settlement is not a normal method of imparting religious instruction. Its religious work is of an emergency character and must be turned over to the parish as soon as possible. After a parish has been organized in a district the settlement may continue to do supplementary religious work. The Catholic settlement also paves the way for the extension of the work of recreational, health, and educational agencies of the community to neglected districts. It helps the people of a

district up to the point of demanding a better health, recreational, and educational service.

Care of the Sick.—The care of the sick is one of the most firmly established traditions in the charities of the Church. In the early days the sick were received into the bishop's home. Wherever the Church extended its influence it invariably made some provision for the care of the sick. Every collegiate church and every monastery operated a hospital. Throughout the middle ages a great number of religious communities were established for the purpose of caring for the sick in hospitals or in their own homes. In the United States the Church has continued to show her traditional attitude toward the development of hospitals for the care of the sick and especially the sick poor. No diocese is complete without a hospital.

There are some 522 general hospitals under Catholic auspices in the United States. Seventy of the hospitals operate dispensaries, and thirty-two operate medical social service departments. There are 41 hospitals for special types of disease, such as tuberculosis, insanity, and the chronically ill.⁶

Fifteen communities of Catholic Sisters in the United States are engaged in the care of the sick in their own homes. They are the Daughters of the Holy Ghost, in Fall River and Providence; the Dominican Sisters of the Sick Poor in New York, Columbus, Cincinnati and Denver; the Little Sisters of the Assumption in New York and Philadelphia; The Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart in Baltimore and New York; the Nursing Sisters of the Sick Poor in Brooklyn; Poor Handmaids of the Sacred Heart in Chicago; The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in New York; the Bon Secours in Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, New York and Philadelphia; Sisters of Charity Grey Nuns in Lawrence, Mass.; Sisters of Divine Saviour in Milwaukee; Little Company of Mary in Chicago; Sisters of Our Lady of Christian Doctrine in New

⁶ *Directory of Catholic Hospitals* (Catholic Hospital Association).

York City; Sister Servants of Mary in Kansas and New Orleans, La.; Mission Helpers of Holy Souls in Purgatory, in New York, St. Louis, San Francisco; Society of the Infant Jesus in Brooklyn, N. Y.⁷

Care of the Aged.—The Church does not forget people who need assistance in their second childhood any more than in their first. It recognizes that in our industrial civilization there are many persons who are penniless in the last years of their lives. It has therefore provided a number of institutions in which aged persons who have no money or no relatives on whom they can depend are taken care of. There are forty-one free Catholic institutions for the aged in the United States operated by the Little Sisters of the Poor, caring for 7,259 dependent aged. There are 81 Catholic homes in the United States in which aged persons who have saved small amounts of money are cared for in their last years. These pay or part-pay homes care for 5,928 aged persons.⁸

The various Catholic charitable organizations and institutions in the United States have grown up without any definite relationship one to the other. Each organization and institution was deeply conscious of its own autonomy. It lived to itself and thought very little of other organizations doing similar work. It was not at all uncommon to find that those in charge of one institution had never visited the other institutions of the city or diocese. It was not surprising that under such circumstances there should have been much overlapping and duplication of effort, great unevenness in standards, and many unfilled needs.

Until recently there was very little thought of a systematic program for Catholic charities that gave to each agency its proper place without interfering with its initiative and autonomy, that looked to all the problems to whose solution the Church might contribute, and that gave to the laity

⁷ John O'Grady, *Directory of Catholic Charities in the United States* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1922), pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

a clear understanding of their obligations in charity to their fellow-beings. Catholic agencies were permitted to struggle along as best they could. Lacking the necessary funds they were not able to attain the standards they had set before themselves.

Every student of Catholic charities must recall with feelings of the most profound gratitude the sacrifices and the labors of religious communities in the upbuilding of charitable institutions. They did not have the same resources or the same understanding on the part of the laity that we so happily enjoy. They had to depend very largely on the poor in order to carry their mission of mercy to the poor. They worked in pioneer days when all Catholic institutions were struggling for existence, when bishops and priests were building churches and schools in order to conserve the faith of a rapidly increasing population. In dealing with the limitations of institutions and organizations in the past it is well to remember the serious handicaps under which they labored.

Pioneer Work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.—Catholic lay organizations, and particularly the St. Vincent de Paul Society, have done splendid pioneer work in reaching out beyond the confines of parishes and individual institutions into the neglected fields of Catholic charities. By the very nature of its organization the St. Vincent de Paul Society has lent itself to city-wide work. The rules of the society provide that the parish conferences should be banded together in particular councils which generally exercise jurisdiction over an entire city. In the very large cities there is sometimes more than one particular council.

The particular councils exercise general supervision over the work of the parish conferences. They provide for the extension of the society in parishes in which it has not yet been organized, and care for such needs as cannot be cared for through the parish conferences. In many cities particular councils have promoted the establishment of special institutions for children. In a number of cities particular councils

have been interested in the spiritual care of Catholic prisoners in the various penal and correctional institutions. In Detroit the particular council has developed a very extensive child-caring program. As early as 1907 the particular council of Baltimore organized a central bureau to supplement the work for needy families done by the different parishes. The St. Louis council has developed an extensive program of family welfare work. In fact it may be said that a large part of the programs of diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have grown out of the early pioneer efforts of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

The organization of the St. Vincent de Paul Society is patterned very closely after the organization of the church itself. The basic unit of its organization is the parish conference. The conferences are joined together in particular councils. Where there is more than one particular council in a diocese a diocesan council may be formed. The various particular councils in each ecclesiastical province unite in forming metropolitan councils. Over and above the metropolitan councils there is the Superior Council of the United States which cares for the interests of the society as a whole in this country and serves as a connecting link between the society here and the Council General at Paris. The society of St. Vincent de Paul is therefore not only city-wide and nation-wide but world-wide in its ramifications. It is governed by the same fundamental rules in all countries of the world. These rules are, however, sufficiently flexible to permit adjustment to the various conditions in which the society finds itself in different countries.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK—*Continued*

Beginning of Diocesan Programs of Child Care.—Beginning in 1895 the authorities in a number of dioceses began to think about a broader program of child care. They recognized that the children's institutions needed assistance in placing their children. In some dioceses like Boston and Hartford, the religious welfare of large numbers of Catholic children under public care demanded attention. The organization of special courts for the purpose of dealing with children's cases reminded Catholic organizations of the need of protective work for neglected and delinquent Catholic children. Many of the children coming before the courts presented special religious problems. The courts, moreover, by reason of the lack of adequate probation service, were compelled to appeal to different religious organizations to do their probation work.¹

In 1897 the Catholic Home Bureau of New York, the first organized Catholic child-placing society in the United States, was established by the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The fundamental purpose of the Home Bureau was to find suitable homes for Catholic children eligible for adoption. The Catholic Charitable Bureau of Boston was established January 1, 1903. The functions of the Bureau as described by its first director, Rev. Joseph G. Anderson, later Auxiliary Bishop of Boston, were "(1) To keep a list of all charitable and reformatory institutions and homes . . . where Catholic children may become inmates; (2) To keep a list of all Catholic children who are placed in these institutions and homes; (3)

¹ John O'Grady, "Lay Participation in Catholic Charity," *Catholic Charities Review*, December, 1925.

To see that Catholic children who may become inmates of such charitable and reformatory institutions shall not be exposed to influences prejudicial to their faith or morals; (4) To keep a watchful eye on all Catholic children who are placed out from these institutions or by public authority in families and to see that such children live up to their faith and are properly treated; (5) To ascertain the names of Catholic families who are willing as a work of charity to accept and care for children that might be sent to them from the state and municipal Boards of Charity or from charitable and reformatory institutions.”²

With the establishment of juvenile courts in the various cities in 1899 Catholic organizations in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago employed full-time workers to assist in dealing with Catholic children. The judges of the juvenile courts recognized that the Church had an important contribution to make to the welfare of neglected and delinquent children. They were well aware that without the influence of religion very little progress could be made in changing the habits of life of children or their parents. Those who were interested in bringing the force of religion into the children's lives and the lives of their parents were therefore ever welcome in the juvenile courts.

Development of Central Diocesan Organizations of Catholic Charities.—It is a long step from the beginnings to the present-day efforts to apply case-work principles to child care, to supplement the volunteer work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and to formulate diocesan programs of Catholic charities; and yet the present programs are a natural outgrowth of the pioneer efforts in child care and family work. As case-work principles were applied to child care the need of a more systematic program became evident. It was very apparent that the best results could not be achieved if each and

² Joseph G. Anderson, "The Charitable Bureau and Some Phases of its Work Among Children," Reprinted from *Donahue's Magazine*, July, 1903, pp. 10, 11.

every one of the children's homes continued to operate as an independent unit. The application of case-work principles to family work showed the need of united city and diocesan programs for families in need of special care. The organization of diocesan agencies of Catholic charities has been the most outstanding development in Catholic social and charitable work in the United States during the past twelve years. Since 1915 some thirty-four diocesan agencies of Catholic charities have been established.

What is most significant about the diocesan agencies is that they represent the official interest of the various dioceses as represented by their bishops in the development of a systematic program of Catholic charities. As it is practically impossible to make any progress in parish work without the interest and active leadership of the pastor, so also is it impossible to make any progress in diocesan organization without the active interest and leadership of the bishop. The diocesan program of Catholic charities is really the bishop's program. It must be worked out in his name and under his direction. No individual organization or institution in the diocese can presume to work out alone a diocesan program.

A diocesan program calls for a trained personnel and trained service. It means a combination of the best that modern experience has to offer, with the traditional ideals of Catholic charity. It means that the Church is carrying out its mission of charity by the best that science has to contribute. In order to tap the resources of modern science it must have a trained personnel. It must have workers who are versed in modern social work technique and procedure and at the same time are animated by the finest ideals of the Christian faith and a Christ-like love of their fellow-beings. Training is necessary for the workers who are to carry out the diocesan program of Catholic charities, but training is still more necessary for the priest in charge of the work.

We cannot very easily have an official diocesan organization of charities without a priest in charge who represents the

authority of the bishop. It goes without saying that a priest can be far more successful than a lay person in dealing with the religious communities in charge of our institutions and also with the various organizations of the laity engaged in charity work. A priest without training, however, cannot be expected to carry out successfully a systematic program of Catholic charities. Without being acquainted with the best experience in the field he is bound to make many mistakes that militate against the program and retard its progress for many years.

The diocesan organizations have endeavored as far as possible to base their programs on an objective study of facts. They have not thought in terms of the work of any one Catholic organization or institution as isolated from all the others. They have endeavored to arrange the work of each and every institution and organization so as to make it a part of one program. Careful study of the situation in a number of dioceses showed that there was much overlapping and duplication of effort between the different agencies; that the work of a number of the agencies was not up to the best standards; that there were many unfilled needs and that the work as a whole was being greatly handicapped by the lack of funds. Surveys of local situations also showed that Catholic organizations were not availing themselves as fully as they might of the resources of the community; that they were not even availing themselves of the facilities offered by public organizations. There was no reason why any large group of citizens should not avail themselves of all the resources of the community. When a city organizes a public service, that service is intended for all the people. Many, through ignorance of their own rights as citizens, fail to avail themselves of the services that the city offers for their benefit. It is the function of private agencies, more particularly the agencies of their own church, to inform these citizens of their rights.³

³ Robert F. Keegan, *Surveys of Catholic Charities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1920), pp. 30-37.

In developing their programs the diocesan organizations of Catholic charities found it very necessary to reckon with the work already done by other social agencies, both public and private. If, after careful study, it was found that certain types of problems affecting the Catholic poor were being dealt with adequately by non-sectarian or public organizations, the Catholic organization was not inclined to relieve the other agencies of their responsibility. It was rather inclined to select the types of problems that were most neglected or in which its services might be most effective from a spiritual point of view.

The central diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have not as yet adopted any common name. They are variously known as "Catholic Charities," "Bureau of Catholic Charities," "Catholic Welfare Bureau," "Diocesan Bureau of Social Service," "Diocesan Charities." During the past five years there has been a tendency on the part of the diocesan organizations to adopt the uniform name, "Catholic Charities." It is agreed that this name is most in harmony with their purposes. They do not want to be regarded as one of a number of Catholic agencies. Their program is as all-embracing as the official organization of the Church they represent.

Programs of Central Diocesan Organizations of Catholic Charities.—The program of the well developed organization of Catholic charities includes family service, child care, protective care, health, recreation, and settlement work. The Church is keenly interested in the conservation and upbuilding of the family. She looks to the family as the basic agency for the teaching of the natural virtues, and since the supernatural must be built on the natural, she looks to the family as the first and the best means of extending her spiritual mission to mankind. No matter how forceful and how thorough may be her teaching from the pulpit and in the school, she knows that it cannot secure the best results unless it is reënforced by home teaching and home example. The Church is concerned in a very special manner with the failures of

family life; she sees in them a special challenge to her zeal and devotion. She realizes that the breakdown of the family is due in large measure to ignorance of or failure to discharge the obligations of the Christian life. She is fully conscious, however, of the great and almost insuperable burdens which untoward economic and social conditions, such as insufficient income, poor housing, and lack of adequate health facilities, impose on the weak and helpless, and she therefore ever associates her mission of mercy to the poor with a demand for the improvement of social and economic conditions making for poverty and dependency.

Through the daily ministrations of her priesthood, through the confessional, and through her schools, in which the training of character and will goes hand in hand with the imparting of secular knowledge, the Church is carrying on a great work of family service. The ministry of her priesthood is supplemented by the St. Vincent de Paul Society and other charitable organizations of the laity. Through these organizations the laity joins hands with the priests and shares in the ministry of Christian charity.

In the face of the complicated conditions of modern life the Church has found that in order to complete her pastoral ministry she needs the services of the full-time trained worker. The priest and the volunteer find that many problems arise in the care of families in which the advice and assistance of the trained worker are essential. In this matter the Church has naturally wanted to profit by the best experience of the age. She would not have been true to her mission if she had not endeavored to give the best that human experience and Christian teaching have to offer.

Catholic Family Service.—In her diocesan agencies of Catholic charities the Church is not making a beginning in organized family service. From her foundation the Church has been doing organized family work. Now she is simply developing a new service to meet a new need. She is employing

technically trained persons to deal with the specially complicated family problems of our time.

The service given through the family divisions of the diocesan organizations of Catholic charities is not something separate and distinct from the ordinary parish work of the Church. It is really an extension of parish activities into new fields. The full-time workers in the central organization work in the closest possible coöperation with the parishes. By inspiration and counsel they endeavor to bring the volunteer societies of the parish up to better standards. They bring to the pastor's attention many individuals and families that have fallen away from the Church, and aid him in bringing them back to the Church. With their knowledge of the resources of the city and of social work they aid the pastor in solving many difficult family problems.⁴

Relations of Catholic Family Service to public and Non-Sectarian Agencies.—In their family-service programs the diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have as a general rule established close working relationships with the public and non-sectarian organizations. In order to do good work for their families they must have a definite policy governing their relations with the public and non-sectarian family welfare societies. We find a great variety of policies governing the relation between Catholic and public family-service agencies, depending on the resources and the standards of each group of agencies. In some cities the public agency gives relief to all families receiving less than a certain specified income. The Catholic agency accepts all Catholic families receiving more than this amount. In other cities the public agency takes all cases needing relief for a long period and the Catholic agency takes short-term relief cases. In a third group of cities the public organizations have specific rules

⁴ Edwin L. Leonard, *Report of a Study of the Family Divisions of Five Diocesan Catholic Charities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1926), pp. 455-469.

and regulations governing the amount of relief to be given to a particular family. The amount given under these rules is frequently insufficient and the Catholic organization is called upon to supplement the public relief.

In the relations between Catholic and non-sectarian family-service societies there is a marked variation between different cities. In two cities the Catholic agencies prefer to have all cases of Catholic families needing service or relief referred to them. The policy in two other cities calls for the referring to the Catholic agency of all new cases and of all old cases involving religious problems. In a number of cities the agency to deal with the case is determined by first contact. If the Catholic agency has first established contact with the family it gives the needed relief or service, and vice versa in the case of the non-sectarian agency. When this policy prevails it is applied to old as well as new cases, so that if an agency has ever worked with a family it must be prepared to serve the family if need should arise at a future date.

Catholic Family Service and the Parish.—The diocesan agencies of Catholic charities assume, as a guiding principle of their work, that the different parishes should, as far as possible, be responsible for material relief in the families in their respective jurisdiction. In practice, however, this principle has been rather difficult to apply. Material relief, particularly in the old downtown parishes, is frequently in inverse ratio to parish resources. In one city an effort has been made, and with notable success, to get the wealthier suburban parishes to assume part of the relief obligations of the poorer parishes. In most cities, however, the central organization has been compelled to carry a large share of the relief of the poorer parishes. Even in dealing with parishes having ample resources, the central organizations of Catholic charities have frequently found it most difficult to induce them to give relief on the basis of family needs. Many of the parishes have not yet adjusted themselves to giving large relief budgets to par-

ticular families over a long period of time. For a long number of years they have been accustomed to giving relief in small amounts. It requires very careful and painstaking work to change their attitude in this matter, but the change is coming, and in many instances it has already come.

Diocesan Child-Caring Programs.—That the child is primarily a family problem is an accepted axiom of modern social work. The social agency therefore does not endeavor to deal with the child apart from his family. It endeavors to do everything possible to strengthen the bonds of family life. It resists every effort on the part of parents to rid themselves of their God-given responsibility to take care of their own children. It keeps continually reminding parents of the sacred obligations imposed upon them by divine law to bring up their children properly. It ever keeps before them the sacred obligation of giving their children an opportunity of availing themselves of existing educational facilities and of teaching them the truths of religion.

Good social work requires that no child should be removed from his own home and placed under the tutelage of a charitable institution except as the result of the most careful and painstaking investigation. This investigation should reveal how far it is possible for the child to be taken care of in his own home; it should reveal the possibilities of securing help from relatives in caring for the child. After all, there is nothing new about these principles; they are simply a concrete application of the basic teaching of the natural law.

The diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have been endeavoring to apply the principles of good social work in children's institutions. They have been endeavoring to establish the principle in Catholic child-caring work that no child should be removed from his own home except as the result of a most careful investigation. The diocesan organizations have been willing to assist the institutions by making these investigations for them. They have been willing to assist the institutions in maintaining closer contact between parents and

children. The children's institution in the last analysis not only has an obligation of training the child but also of training the parent. While it has taken over in part the parents' responsibilities for the time being, it must look to the time when the parents will be able once more to assume their own responsibilities. The duties of the children's home do not end after the child has been returned to his own family or relatives. It must maintain a friendly contact with the child and his family. It must be willing to assist in future difficulties that may arise in the home.

Catholic child-caring institutions are very jealous of their autonomy. They do not like to have standards imposed upon them from outside. The diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have found that they could make much better progress with children's institutions by sympathetic understanding and counsel than by forcing definite policies on them. The diocesan organizations that have made a consistent effort to understand the viewpoint of the institutions, to sympathize with them in their difficulties, and to assist them in solving their problems, have made very creditable progress in improving their standards of child care.

Regular meetings of the superiors of children's institutions have been found most helpful in improving institutional standards in a number of dioceses. In these meetings, general policies have been worked out in regard to standards of institutional care. Each superior was given to understand that her experience and her viewpoint would be reckoned with in the child-caring program of the diocese as a whole. Through the conferences, moreover, each superior learned that there was much in the experience of other institutions from which she might profit. Before the conferences were inaugurated the institutions were not acquainted one with the other. It frequently happened that those in charge of one institution had never visited the other institutions of the diocese.

The greatest task that confronts Catholic child-caring work in the United States is the improvement of the standards of

child-caring institutions; the placing of the admission and discharge of children on a sound case-work basis, and the development of an adequate health, recreational and educational program for the children.⁵ The endeavor must be made to get away as far as possible from the old methods of dealing with children in masses. As was pointed out in another chapter, the present practice of getting away from mass treatment in Catholic institutions is by organizing the children into groups of twenty-five to thirty, each group having its own group mother. In this way will the institution develop a reasonably close approximation to home life.

The diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have found that there are a certain number of children presenting special health and behavior difficulties who cannot receive the type of care they need in institutions. For such children the diocesan agencies have developed boarding-home care.

In many American dioceses there are a number of institutions caring for the ordinary dependent and neglected children and practically no facilities for the care of children mentally or physically handicapped. It is to be hoped that in time, with the increasing number of children cared for in their own homes and by public and private relief, some of the present institutions may be diverted to the care of mentally and physically handicapped children.

The day-nursery fills a very essential place in the Catholic charities of a diocese; family-service societies are coming to look upon it as a most useful means of supplementing their work. Family societies believe that a number of mothers with dependent children may well be expected to do some work outside of the home in order to help themselves. There is no reason for instance why a mother with three children of school age should not work for two or three hours outside the home while the children are in school in order to supplement the aid

⁵ John O'Grady, *Child Welfare and Family Responsibility* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1923), pp. 270-277; Bryan J. McEntegart, *Institutions for Children and Their Relation to Other Agencies*, (National Conference of Social Work, Toronto, 1924), pp. 139-143.

she receives from a family agency. The day-nursery, moreover, has splendid possibilities for assisting mothers in the training of children of pre-school age. It can often be reorganized to serve as an efficient nursery school.

Day-nurseries, like children's institutions, are subject to abuses if they are not operated according to the best standards. Some of the diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have been very successful in standardizing the day-nurseries of their respective dioceses. They have succeeded in getting the nurseries to investigate carefully all applications for the admission of children. They have induced them to provide systematic medical care for their children, to adopt standard record forms, and to give more consideration to the care and training of children.

Summer Outings.—An increasing number of Catholic social and charitable agencies have become interested in summer outings for children. In the course of their work they come in contact with a great many undernourished children who would profit very materially by one or two weeks during the summer in the wholesome country air with plenty of nourishing food. They also come into contact with numbers of boys and girls whose health and character could be greatly improved by one or two weeks of training and discipline in a summer camp. Some organizations have emphasized primarily the health aspects of summer outings and have therefore organized "health camps." These health camps, however, do not overlook the importance of organized play. Other organizations have been concerned mainly with the recreational aspects of summer outings and have therefore organized "recreation camps," with proper emphasis also on the health aspects of the program. The line of demarcation between these two types of summer outings is not very clearly drawn. In cities in which facilities for summer outings for children were entirely lacking or altogether inadequate, the diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have taken the initiative in developing

this very important work. Where summer homes or camps already existed interest has been centered in improving their standards or extending their facilities.

Protective Care.—There is no work that is more in harmony with the teaching of Christ and with the ideals and traditions of Christian charity than the reclaiming of the delinquent. "Even so there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance more than upon ninety-nine just who need not penance." Delinquency is after all only another name for sin. The delinquent is one who has violated some law that is intended to promote the common well-being and since all just laws are an expression of the will of God, the delinquent has run counter to God's will. The Church, as the divinely appointed exponent of Christianity, as the representative of Christ's mission of mercy, has very naturally given a large share of her zeal and her efforts to the reclaiming of the offender against law and order.

There could be no better means of preventing delinquency or reclaiming the delinquent than the sacramental system of the Church, especially the sacraments of the Blessed Eucharist and Penance. In the sacrament of Penance the delinquent is given a splendid opportunity of bringing about in himself a real conversion of heart and soul and of receiving the direction, courage, and strength necessary to persevere in the right way of thinking and living. In the Blessed Eucharist the sinner is given an opportunity once more of sharing in the life of Christ and entering into the closest possible union with Him. If the sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist are received with proper devotion, if the sinner before going to confession is truly sorry and makes a firm resolve to do better, it cannot but have a most profound influence on him. If he receives the Blessed Eucharist with the proper disposition it must aid him very greatly in avoiding further delinquency. Many times when the Sisters of the Good Shepherd have been asked how it was that they were able to exercise so much con-

trol over women who had spent many years of their lives on the streets their one answer was "The sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist."

From the interest of the Church in the delinquent has grown the special communities whose members dedicate their lives to the reclamation of the wayward. The most notable of these communities is the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The Houses of this community may be found in every large city in the United States and Canada.

The Church is not only interested in the maintenance of institutions for delinquents but is also interested in the development of a protective program that will reach out and attack the problem at its very source. She is interested in the prevention of delinquency. She is interested in providing the type of recreation, education, and religious training that will prevent children from getting into trouble.

A number of the diocesan organizations of Catholic charities have well-developed protective programs. They are interested in aiding the existing Catholic institutions to reach the highest standards. They want them to adopt the highest standards of medical care. They want each Catholic institution to have its own clinic with its own medical staff. They want general education as well as vocational training in the institutions to be such as will fully prepare those in their charge to take up useful occupations after they leave. The diocesan agencies are working with the institutions in improving their method of classifying children; they are particularly interested in the application of case-work methods for delinquents; they are ready to assist in the investigation of all applications for admission and in the follow-up and supervision of those who have been discharged.

The diocesan organizations of Catholic charities are co-operating with the various children's courts in dealing with delinquent and semi-delinquent Catholic children. It is not intended that the work of the diocesan agencies should take the place of adequate probation service. There is no thought

of taking over any part of the work of the regular probation officers. In some places Catholic organizations are doing probation work as a temporary experiment. Even with a well-established probation service there is still a large field of activity for the private agency in the children's court. It can deal with the large number of cases that are reported to the court but are not considered sufficiently serious for formal court treatment. It can assist the probation officers in special cases in which the services of a religious agency are most helpful and necessary. It can take over the supervision of children who have been discharged from probation. The most important work of the Catholic agency should consist in keeping children out of court. When its work becomes known, many parents will come to it for advice and direction in dealing with children who present special difficulties.

Diocesan Health Programs.—A health program for Catholic charities naturally centers around the Catholic hospital. The hospital is logically a service institution. It is a part of the Catholic charities of the diocese. It ought to be organized in such a way as to satisfy the needs of those who cannot meet the regular hospital charges. It should have a well-developed social policy governing the admission of patients not only to its dispensary but also to the hospital proper. Part-pay and free patients need a type of care which the hospital cannot render except through a social service department manned by a trained social work personnel. Of its very nature the hospital is an institution for the care of the acutely ill. It cannot afford to crowd its beds with convalescent or chronic patients. This does not mean, however, that it can absolve itself from all responsibility for convalescent patients or the chronically ill. It is interested in seeing that the convalescent patients receive the proper type of care after they are discharged. Through a well-organized social service department it can assist convalescing patients in securing the type of care they need. The hospital is in a very splendid position to educate the public in regard to the necessity of adequate

facilities for convalescent care in the community. When the chronic patient is discharged from the hospital the social service department should be in a position to make a definite plan for him either in his own home or in some special institution.

Only one diocesan organization of Catholic charities, the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, has organized a special division of health. The Division of Health of the New York Charities has made a special study of the hospital facilities of the archdiocese, and has done some very excellent work in extending those facilities. It has organized a Central Service Bureau for persons needing hospital care and unable to pay the regular fees. It has been interested in improving the facilities for convalescent care; it has aided in the development of medical social service; and it has interested itself in extending the work of the sisterhoods engaged in home nursing.

In the Diocese of Brooklyn the director in charge of the Catholic hospitals is a member of the Board of Catholic Charities of the diocese. In the Archdiocese of Cincinnati and the Diocese of Cleveland, the Directors of Catholic Charities also exercise supervision over hospitals. In most of the dioceses no definite steps have as yet been taken to make the hospitals a part of the diocesan organization of Catholic charities.

The Church and Leisure Time.—For a number of years various parishes have promoted leisure-time projects for the purpose of raising funds for the Church and school. Some parishes have had dramatic clubs for the purpose of raising money and promoting a more wholesome use of leisure time. In other parishes, organizations whose primary objectives were spiritual made dramatics a part of their program. Interest in athletics has been traditional in Catholic parishes. For a number of years parishes have had their baseball teams and, in some instances, track teams. In many cities inter-parochial leagues have encouraged a healthy rivalry between the different parishes.

Many parishes in the United States have organized community centers with fairly well-developed programs. They have their gymnasiums with facilities for basket-ball, indoor baseball, track, and bowling. A few of the parish centers have their own swimming pools. Dramatics form an important part of the program of the parish center. For the pre-adolescent boys and girls there are Junior Holy Name Societies and Junior Sodalties.

In most instances the recreational activities of the parish are in charge of one of the junior priests. Their success or failure depends almost entirely on his leadership and ability. Many times it happens that a priest with special qualifications carries the social activities of the parish to the highest pinnacle of success, and then finds himself transferred to another parish and succeeded by a priest with no interest in or qualifications for the work. This is the great factor that has militated against continuity in parish social programs. A few parishes have begun to meet this difficulty by employing full-time recreational leaders.

We find that many of the downtown sections of our American cities are not reached by any parish social program. It is in these sections that we frequently find the most serious problems of delinquency and also some of the most serious religious problems. Boys' clubs and community centers or settlements can be used most effectively in dealing with these situations. In only three cities in the United States have city-wide boys' clubs been organized under Catholic auspices, namely, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Washington. The most outstanding illustration of a successful city-wide boys' club under Catholic auspices is the Fenwick Club in Cincinnati.

The Catholic settlement is the more usual method of meeting the recreational and religious problems that cannot be reached by parish organizations. In most of the large cities in the United States there is a settlement program of one kind or another. Eight diocesan organizations of Catholic charities are giving special attention to the developing of city-wide and

diocesan-wide recreational and settlement programs. In their recreational and community programs these diocesan organizations have had two main objectives in mind, first, the co-ordination and development of existing parish programs, and, second, the organization of clubs and settlements in sections that have not been reached and cannot be reached very easily by parish organizations. The Catholic Charities of Washington, D. C., the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, and the Board of Catholic Charities of New Orleans, have employed full-time workers to assist in developing the social program of the parishes. From the experience of these organizations it has been found that a great many parishes are ready and willing to profit by the experience of central diocesan organizations in their recreational work. The central organizations, moreover, have been able to bring the different parishes together so that they might be able to profit by the experience of one another and have induced many parishes which heretofore had shown very little interest to develop programs for organized play. In dioceses like Newark, Baltimore, Boston, and Cincinnati, the central organization of Catholic charities has been responsible for the organization of settlements in districts not reached by parish organizations.

Catholic charities, like the Church herself, are living and growing organisms. While the ideals and principles of Catholic charity are ever the same their application changes from age to age. The methods which the Church employed in her charities in the tenth century would not be at all suitable in the twentieth century. Her methods of meeting the charity problems of the early nineteenth century would not be sufficient to cope with the complicated situations of our times.

The parish as we have seen is the basic unit in Catholic charities. The assisting of persons in need is an essential part of the pastoral responsibilities of the parish. With the development of modern social work the truth of this fundamental principle is becoming more and more apparent. The basic purpose of all social work is the change of habits and of at-

titudes towards life's responsibilities. This change cannot be effected without a definite plan of life, and a definite plan of life is inconceivable without religion. Social work therefore must be looked upon more and more as a work of religion and as a work of the Church. The pastor of to-day who is determined to render the best service to his people will naturally be prepared to profit by all that modern social work has to offer in approaching problems, in the understanding of them and procedure in dealing with them.

It has become very evident in the United States during the past few years that there were certain types of problems that could not be attended to by the parish. The most important of these was the care of children away from their own homes and the care of the sick. The orphanage and the hospital were therefore the first Catholic charitable institutions of a city-wide character in the United States. Other city-wide institutions such as the day-nursery and the settlement were later added.

Before 1915 there was really no systematic city-wide or diocesan-wide program of Catholic charities in the United States. Special agencies were organized to meet the more pressing problems, but there was very little thought of the relations of these agencies one to the other. During the past fifteen years the bishops in the various American dioceses have begun to take stock of these problems as a whole. They have established diocesan organizations of Catholic charities which are gradually working out systematic programs in family work, child care, protective care, health work, recreational, and community work.

A National Outlook in Catholic Charities.—No review of the development and present status of Catholic charities in the United States would be complete without reference to the national movements in the field. It is universally recognized that the National Conference of Catholic Charities has exercised a most profound and far-reaching influence on the development of Catholic social and charitable work in this

country. Organized in 1910 at the Catholic University by Bishop Shahan, Dr. William J. Kerby, and a group of prominent Vincentians and representatives of Catholic women's organizations, the Conference has grown remarkably in influence and numbers. Between 1910 and 1920 the Conference met biennially. Since 1920 it has met annually. In all, it has held thirteen meetings in seventeen years. These meetings have been attended by persons representing the best thought and most recent developments in Catholic charities in the United States.

In 1920 the National Conference of Catholic Charities organized a special division for the sisterhoods engaged in Catholic social work. The meetings of the Sisters' Conference have been most helpful in bringing the Sisters into closer contact with the movement as a whole. It has helped to broaden their vision.

During the seventeen years of its existence the National Conference of Catholic Charities has become a clearing-house for the best thought in Catholic charities. It has given the leaders in different dioceses and different sections of the country an opportunity of comparing notes. The *Proceedings* of the Conference, now numbering thirteen volumes, are really the best source books we have on Catholic charities. The *Proceedings* are supplemented by the *Catholic Charities Review*, which is the official organ of the Conference and is published monthly. In the past seven years the National Conference of Catholic Charities has aided very materially in the development of standards. Recently the Conference appointed a special committee to formulate standards for Catholic settlement work in the United States and another committee to formulate standards for Catholic summer homes and camps. A program for family service in diocesan agencies and a program for Catholic child-caring homes have already been published.

Since 1920 the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has assisted very materially in

the development of Catholic charities in the United States. It has made surveys of Catholic charities in a number of dioceses as a basis for more systematic programs.

In order to do its work according to the best standards, Catholic charities need trained leaders and trained workers and for these recourse must be had to training schools for social workers. The Department of Sociology of the Catholic University for a number of years has been preparing priests for positions as diocesan directors of Catholic charities. Loyola University of Chicago, under the direction of Father Siedenburg, S.J., has done very excellent pioneer work in the training of Catholic lay workers. Fordham University School of Sociology, in coöperation with the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, has also been conducting a training course for lay workers. The National Council of Catholic Women operates in Washington a national training school for Catholic workers, known as the National Catholic Service School. This school promises to fill a very useful and necessary position in meeting the need for trained workers in different dioceses.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Describe the organization and work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.
2. Study ways and means of getting the laity to participate more actively in the Catholic Charities.
3. How are the Catholic Charities of your city financed? What are the strong points and the weaknesses in present methods of financing Catholic Charities in your city?
4. Outline a program for Catholic Charities in your diocese.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- CELESTINE, SISTER, *"Concrete Results from Application of Program for Child-Caring Homes"* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1925).
- Directory of Hospitals, Sanatoriums and Institutions in the United States and Possessions and Canada* (Hospital Publishing Company, Inc., Chicago, Ill., 1927).

- EMANUEL, CYPRIAN W., *The Charities of St. Vincent de Paul* (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, Ill., 1923).
- GERALDINE, SISTER MARY, *Institutional Care of the Child from Birth to Four Years of Age* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1924).
- GERTRUDE, SISTER M., *A Population Study of Catholic Day Nurseries* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1926).
- IGOE, WM. *Lay Participation in Catholic Charities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1927).
- KEEGAN, ROBERT F., *Surveys of Catholic Charities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1920).
- KERBY, W. J., *Social Mission of Charity* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921).
- LEO XIII, POPE, *Great Encyclicals of Leo XIII* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1903).
- LEONARD, EDWIN L., *Report of a Study of the Family Division of Five Diocesan Agencies of Catholic Charities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1926).
- Official Catholic Directory* (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1927).
- O'GRADY, JOHN, *Child Welfare and Family Responsibility* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1923).
- Directory of Catholic Charities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington D. C., 1922).
- "Lay Participation in Catholic Charities," *Catholic Charities Review*, IX (1925), No. 10.
- "St. Vincent de Paul Society," *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), No. 7.
- ST. AUBIN, SISTER, *Interesting Developments in Training of the Blind and Crippled* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1923).
- THOMASINA, MOTHER M., *Child Planning in Institutions* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1926).

CHAPTER XVI

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL AGENCY

Health and the School.—The school nowadays is assuming an increasing responsibility for the general well-being of the child. Educators have long since appreciated the close inter-relationship between the child's intellectual and character training and his physical well-being. They have recognized that neglected physical defects are a great handicap in the way of the child's mental development, and that many times these neglected defects prevent the school graduate from using his educational equipment to the best account in the business of life. The school has, therefore, come to recognize a very distinct obligation toward the health of the child. In some jurisdictions like New York City, Cincinnati, and Baltimore, the medical inspection of school children is in charge of the local department of health. In other jurisdictions like Cleveland and Washington the medical work of the schools comes under the Board of Education. When the medical work of the schools comes under the Board of Health the service is extended to the private as well as to the public schools; when it is made a part of the work of the Board of Education the private schools are compelled to organize their own health service. The ordinary Board of Health recognizes an obligation toward the health of all children whether of school or of pre-school age, or whether they attend public or private schools. The ordinary Board of Education does not recognize any obligation toward the health of children other than those in the schools under its own jurisdiction.

An annual medical examination of all children is looked upon as an essential part of a school health program. Figures

based on the medical examination of school children show that from 50 per cent to 70 per cent of all the children of school age are defective to some extent. In the city of Cleveland, where medical inspection has been in vogue for several years and corrective measures have been applied on a large scale, it was found that 35.4 per cent of the children attending school in 1917-18 were suffering from some physical defect. In the year 1914-15 it was found that of the 469,199 children examined in the rural districts of Pennsylvania, 335,427 or 71.4 per cent had physical defects: 184,900 or 39.3 per cent had one defect, and 150,527 or 32.1 per cent had more than one defect. Of 994 children of pre-school age examined in Cincinnati in 1918, 47.8 per cent were found to be below the average in height, and 23.2 per cent had serious physical defects.¹

Medical examination of school children, no matter how systematic or painstaking it may be, cannot obtain the desired results without a careful follow-up. It is of very little use after all to reveal the physical defects of children if steps are not taken to remedy these defects. Therefore it is that we have come to recognize the importance of the nurse in school work. The school nurse follows up the medical examination; she visits the parents, tells them about the recommendations of the physician, and tells them what must be done to carry out these recommendations. The school nurse is really called upon to discharge many of the functions of a social worker; she must instruct parents in regard to children's diet; she must show them how to economize in the buying and preparing of food. If they are unable to meet the cost of medical care for their children she must show them how to use the free medical resources of the community. The school nurse who knows how to approach families can perform a great service not only in the interests of the particular child who happens to be her immediate concern, but also in regard to the health standards of the family as a whole. She can dissipate prejudice and

¹ Ohio. Health and Old Age Insurance Commission, *Report* (1919), pp. 27-28).

superstitions which prevent many families from securing proper medical care.

The interest of the school in the health of the child is not confined to physical examination or the remedying of physical defects. What is far more important, the school is interested in positive health instruction. It is interested in teaching the children proper health habits, in giving them an appreciation of the relations between diet, personal hygiene, sleep, fresh air, and good health.

Many schools give their students a rating as a measure of their cultivation of proper health habits. The student receives a certain number of points for each glass of milk drunk during the day, or for every time he uses his toothbrush. If children are taught proper health habits they will be able to avoid many of the health hazards which beset the lives of adults. When they grow to manhood and womanhood they will lose less time from work through sickness, they will have fewer doctor's and hospital bills, and they will be happier and more successful in all their undertakings.

Recreation and the School.—The use of leisure time has a very important influence in the development of the child's character and plan of life. In the home the child is under the influence of parents and is guided by parental authority. There is comparatively little opportunity for self-expression. And what is true of the home in this regard is equally true of the school. The work of the child at school is very clearly marked out. There is a definite curriculum that he must follow, and in the following of this curriculum he is subject to the instruction of his teacher.

At play the child is really given his first opportunity of being his true self; he is given his first opportunity of selecting his associates and of determining his own behavior. If we observe a group of boys or girls at play we will notice how different they are from the same boys and girls at home or in school. At play they show more interest because they are doing things of their own free selection; their play activities

bring to expression all their emotions and character traits. Faults of character such as lack of generosity and unwillingness to play fair, which may be concealed in the home or in the school, immediately come to expression on the playground.

The guidance of the leisure-time activities of children is one of the most important elements in the curriculum of the modern school. Social workers have come more and more to look to the school for the development of positive programs for leisure-time activities. In the school we find boys' and girls' scout troops; we have school playgrounds where the children engage in supervised play during recess periods and also during the vacation months. In the school we also have intramural and extramural athletics.

It is not the intention of the school that its recreational program should include all the leisure-time activities of children. The most it can do is to teach the child how to play, to give him a taste for wholesome recreation. The children may not necessarily play the same games they have been taught in school when they get away from the supervision of their teachers, but the school program is bound nevertheless to have a profound influence on their general attitude toward play. If it can get all of the children interested in some form of organized play and if it can teach them how to play their games fairly it will have done much toward their physical and moral upbuilding.

Civic Training and the School.—The great majority of children must depend on the grade school for their interest in civic and community affairs. It must be remembered that on the use these future citizens make of the ballot, on their knowledge of community problems, on their interest in community affairs, and on their attitude toward law and order, will depend the success or failure of democracy. Children in school must, therefore, be taught that community problems are the concern of every citizen; that it is the concern of everybody to have good roads, good traffic regulations and proper safeguards for life, liberty, and property. The school

should bring home to every child as a future citizen the fact that government is not a thing apart from the people but that it is their instrument to be used by them for the promotion of their own well-being. The school should teach the child that government is as good or as bad as people want to make it, and that most of the defects of democratic government are due to ignorance or lack of interest on the part of citizens.

The socialized recitation in school is a very useful lesson in citizenship. It teaches the students the value of coöperative effort in all their undertakings. It teaches them that two heads are generally better than one. Supervised play in the school is also an excellent preparation for citizenship. We recognize that there is nothing which is so essential to the success of any democratic community as team play. The citizens must be ready to pull together on fundamental issues; they must learn to subordinate their own interests in many things to the general interests of the community. The lessons in team play which they learn in their school games cannot fail to be helpful to the children later in discharging their duties as citizens.

Many schools, both public and private, are interested in the boy scout and girl scout programs, and these are making another important contribution toward the preparation of useful citizens. The virtues of loyalty, coöperation, obedience, respect for law and order, and patriotism which these programs teach are the basic virtues of good citizenship. Recently leaders in the boy scout and girl scout movements have been laying increasing stress on the community aspects of their work. They want to see the lessons which scouting teaches carried over into a positive citizenship program. The best schools at the present time are endeavoring to teach civics by actual demonstration lessons. The children are given an opportunity of going through at least a part of the duties of good citizens. As part of their demonstration lessons in citizenship we find schools organizing among their students junior cities, with all the departments of city government.

These junior cities have their mayors, their health officers, their chiefs of police, and each officer of the department has certain corresponding duties in the maintenance of law and order. This method of teaching citizenship catches the imagination of the young and leaves an impression long after things learned from the pages of a book have been forgotten.

The School and Child Labor.—In the past the school program was formulated very largely to meet the needs of the few who could afford the luxury of higher education or who were preparing to enter the learned professions. The grade school was a preparation for the high school, and the high school for college, and college for a professional career. We did not realize sufficiently that for ninety per cent of our children education had to end with the eighth grade, and that for approximately two-thirds of them it had to end with the sixth grade. With such educational preparation as they could secure from the sixth or eighth grades of the primary school these children had to go out and find work. Usually they drifted into some dead-end or blind-alley occupation. When they reached the age of admission to the skilled trades they had forgotten most of what they had learned in school and had frequently developed habits of idleness and shiftlessness.

Child labor laws rather generally require children to attend school until they have attained their fourteenth year and some require attendance until the sixteenth year. At least two million American children leave school every year at about the age of fourteen to take up work in some occupation. More than three out of every four of these children have not reached the eighth grade, and not more than one out of two the seventh. Almost half have not completed the fifth-grade work.

It is a well-recognized fact that not more than twenty-five per cent of the children who leave school as soon as they have complied with the minimum compulsory attendance and child labor requirements do so by reason of economic pressure. The real reason why seventy-five per cent of them go out into the

industrial field is their own desire to go to work, and underlying their desire to go to work is very frequently dissatisfaction with the school. They do not see any relationship between their school work and their future earning capacity. They generally take up the work that is nearest at hand without any consideration for the future. Boys generally find employment as messengers and errand boys in the various mercantile establishments, stores, and telegraph offices. These occupations require them to be out in all kinds of weather. They are required to spend a great part of their time on the streets, to be out late at night, and to visit all sorts of places. Their health and morals are exposed to many serious hazards. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of them find their way into juvenile courts and reform schools. The case is only slightly different with young girls. They also enter poorly paid occupations which are often dangerous to their health and morals and with no particular hope for the future.

The great majority of the boys who leave school at fourteen drift into unskilled employment. Those who take up work in skilled employment are poorly prepared to become efficient craftsmen. When they enter the machine shop for instance they do not have the necessary knowledge of mathematics to become good all-round machinists. Printers' apprentices do not have sufficient knowledge of reading, writing, spelling, and punctuation to make them good printers.

Vocational Advisement and Continuation Schools.—The schools have a serious obligation toward the children who go to work as soon as they have satisfied the minimum legal requirements. That the public is beginning to recognize the obligation of the school in this regard is evidenced by the recent continuation school legislation requiring children up to the age of eighteen to spend a certain number of hours every week in school. The establishment of vocational advisement bureaus in connection with many of the larger city public school departments is another evidence of the fact that the school is coming to take a keener interest in the children who

go to work at an early age. These vocational advisement bureaus, as their name indicates, advise the children in regard to the selection of their vocations. They advise them in regard to the opportunities open to them in different fields of work, and they endeavor to keep the young out of occupations that may be injurious to their health or morals.²

Pre-Vocational Courses.—Vocational advisement or continuation school legislation alone are not sufficient to meet the problem of the child who leaves school at fourteen. No matter what we may do in the way of advice, large numbers of children will leave school as soon as they have satisfied the minimum legal requirements and they will drift into the ordinary children's occupations. Obliging them to return to school a certain number of hours every week will help, but it will not solve their problem. If the subjects taught in the continuation school do not interest them they will look upon them as so many tasks which they will get through with as soon as possible. What is needed more than anything else for the children who leave school at fourteen is to make the school more attractive. These children need to be shown that one or two years more in school will mean greater earning power and a better standard of life in the future. This implies, of course, that the additional years of school work can be closely correlated with the work of their future lives. The ordinary social worker or the ordinary teacher is well aware that any type of school work is better for the child's physical and mental development than premature employment; but it is not always easy to get wage-earners or their children to take the social worker's or the educator's view in this matter. The majority of wage-earners do not realize the value of the ordinary high-school education so far as future work of their children is concerned. The schools must, therefore, offer courses that will have a very close bearing on the life work of the child. The school cannot teach the skilled trades, but

² David Snedden, *Educational Sociology* (The Century Co., New York, 1922), pp. 606-621.

it can give pre-vocational courses that will prepare the child to take up the skilled trades more intelligently. It can teach the groundwork of the skilled trades. By definite agreements with employers and trade-unions it can have its courses recognized as a part of the apprenticeship training for the different crafts. Under such conditions a boy will have an inducement to remain in school for a longer period. He will realize that his school record is definitely counting in his future work.

The Part-Time School and the Evening School.—While pre-vocational courses with a definite vocational objective may induce a fairly large number of children to remain in school for a longer period there will still be those for whom the allurements of a job with a high initial wage will prove too strong. Our only hope for further educational work for this latter type of child is the part-time school. In the part-time school we must be prepared to offer courses that will open to juvenile workers better and more remunerative vocational opportunities. When it is impossible for juvenile workers to avail themselves of the part-time school they should be induced to attend evening school. While the evening school has many disadvantages, it is the only means of improving the economic status of a large percentage of juvenile workers. Young workers between the ages of fourteen and eighteen are naturally disinclined to sacrifice their evenings' pleasures for the sake of study, and after a regular day's work it is not easy for them to apply themselves in the way that is necessary for real advancement in their studies. In spite of these disadvantages the evening school offers a real opportunity to the ambitious boy, and it also offers an opportunity to the boy who learns to appreciate the advantages of education only after he has gone to work.³

Education for Handicapped Children.—We find in every community a certain number of children who, by reason of physical or mental handicaps, cannot profit by the ordinary school curriculum. In the past there was a general feeling that

³ Snedden, *op. cit.*, pp. 622-631.

the only means of dealing successfully with mentally or physically handicapped children was to segregate them in special institutions. Nowadays there is a rather widespread tendency to provide for the training of these children in the ordinary school system. Every well-organized school system now recognizes the need of special classes or special schools for the mentally handicapped. When the child is backward in his studies the well-equipped school sees to it that a mental examination is made in order to find out whether or not the backwardness is due to mental defect. If the examining psychiatrist finds that the child is mentally defective he is placed in a special class or a special school where he receives manual or other training of a quality suited to his ability. It is a well-recognized fact that a large number of mentally handicapped children are capable of profiting by manual training courses and that they may become very useful workers in certain types of semi-skilled occupations. There is of course a certain group of low-grade feeble-minded children who cannot profit by any kind of school training. This latter type of child should not be at large. Both in the interests of the child and in the interests of society he should have permanent custodial care.

Some thirty cities of the United States are making special provision in their school systems for the training of crippled children.⁴ This program includes physical rehabilitation, academic training, and vocational work. About half a dozen cities in the United States have made provision in their educational systems for the training of children who do not hear well. Other cities are gradually coming to realize the importance of the problem and the time is probably not far off when every child with defective hearing will be given training. In recent years encouraging progress has also been made in the United States in the training of the totally deaf. The deaf are now given an opportunity of learning lip reading. They are also

⁴ See *Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work* (Washington, 1923), p. 383.

given an opportunity of learning the trades for which they are adapted.

Society's attitude toward the blind child is no different from its attitude toward the crippled and the deaf. It recognizes that the blind need no longer depend on charity for a living. The blind child is given the same opportunities as other children in the schools. In spite of his handicap the world holds out to him a fair variety of opportunities in the different trades and professions. That blindness is no insuperable obstacle to educational advancement is evident from the number of blind students who have made their way through American colleges and the number who have succeeded in the business and professional worlds.

The social worker wants to see every person given the fullest opportunity for the development of human personality. He spares no pains in preparing a remedy for the defects of childhood. When those defects cannot be remedied he wants everything possible to be done to neutralize their influence. He wants to see the defective child get the best out of life and the talents that God has given him. The social worker, therefore, is greatly interested in every movement for the improved training of the defective child, for this to him marks real progress in preventive work. He is greatly interested in seeing that defective children are given the environment of the normal child, that they live in their own homes and attend the ordinary schools with the normal children of their communities.

Bridging School and Home.—Social workers are coming to look to the school in dealing with the behavior problems of children. They find that the habits that get children into trouble are deeply rooted through their early environment and training. When they are brought to the attention of a social agency the habits and plan of life of children are often rather firmly fixed. The social agency is at a great disadvantage in dealing with these children. It has no means of com-

ing into contact with them when they first begin to drift and it always finds it difficult to establish that close contact which is necessary to change their ideals and to give them a new attitude toward life.

In the preparation of the child for life, the home is the most important of all human institutions. It is a well-recognized fact among all students of human nature that the home impressions are the most lasting. The inspiration and direction which the child receives from his parents very largely determine his plan of life. Under modern industrial and social conditions the home is exposed to a very severe strain and its tasks have become vastly difficult. Parents who were brought up in simple surroundings have thrust upon them the task of training children in a very complex environment. They very naturally find it difficult to appreciate the problems their children face in modern city life. Many homes, therefore, at the present time more than ever before, need the assistance of outside agencies to aid them in solving their problems. They need advice and counsel in dealing with the children. They need to have pointed out to them the dangers to child life in our modern communities. Fortunately, the great majority of homes do not need any special assistance other than that provided by the normal agencies of the Church and the school; but there are a large number of homes for which special outside assistance means the difference between success and failure. To what agencies may these homes turn in their difficulties? All too frequently the home that is having difficulties with its children turns to the juvenile court. We find mothers going to court, entering complaints against their twelve-year-old children whom they can no longer control. Usually the mother does not have recourse to the court until there is a crisis. The child may have refused to go to school longer; he may be staying out late at night, or may have run away from home. The chances are that the present conduct of the child is the result of a long period of neglect on the part of the parents. The parents may have been too rigid in deal-

ing with the child; they may have given him too much liberty; they may not have been sufficiently careful in regard to his associations; they may not have set the proper example; there may be division and constant quarreling in the home. The court does everything it can to change the behavior of the child and also of the parents. It uses every resource at its command to improve the child's attitude and his outlook on life. It seeks the coöperation of the Church in building up the religious life of the child, of the school in arousing its interest in education, of the medical agency in caring for its health, and of the scout troop or club in the securing of recreational opportunities. The work of the court in this regard is in the last analysis a work of character building, a work of education, and for this work the court is rather poorly equipped. It does not usually have the opportunity for that careful observation of the child which is necessary for a thorough understanding of his problems. It does not have the opportunity of establishing that close continuous contact with the child which is necessary for effective educational work. The court, moreover, does not have as much influence as the school in dealing with the child's home. The school has a natural contact with the home. Parents are interested in the progress of their children in school and they are naturally sympathetic toward, and will further, plans that the school may have for their children. Work with children in their own homes is therefore a logical extension of the work of the school.

As already emphasized in other sections of this chapter, child health, recreation, civic training, and vocational advisement and training have come to be accepted as a part of the regular school curriculum. No program for child training can be complete which does not look to the specific difficulties, whether individual or environmental, that retard the child's advancement in school. We have previously referred to the need of special classes and special schools for handicapped children. Even with the aid of such classes and schools it will be difficult to deal effectively with the mentally handicapped

child without the full coöperation of its parents. In nearly every school we have children of normal mentality who present more or less serious behavior problems. The child may be unruly in school, he may be losing interest in his school work, he may be playing truant. The teacher may give up all hope of making any real progress with such a child, or he may try to deal with him sympathetically and understandingly, and as he studies the child's difficulties he will generally find that they are traceable to factors outside of the school. He may find that the parents have lost control over the child; that they are not encouraging him in his school work, that the child spends too much time on the streets or at the movies; that he is under the influence of vicious boys who are teaching him habits of lawlessness. Here we may have a child who is a potential criminal and a candidate for our penal and reformatory institutions. He is forming habits which it will be difficult to change as he grows older. The teacher sees the downward drift from the very beginning. He sees the first evidences of the drift in the child's dwindling interest in school work. The teacher is naturally interested in stemming the downward course of the child's life, but he feels really helpless to secure effective results. He may have a general knowledge of the child. He may make one or two casual visits to the home, but he quickly finds that he cannot give the time necessary for individual work with the child. Moreover, the ordinary teacher is at a loss in dealing with the problem child. He is not practiced in the art of dealing with families. He finds it difficult to get parents to appreciate the difficulties of their children. He is not in close contact with the scout troops and clubs which should be used in planning the child's leisure-time program.

Visiting Teacher Movement.—The school cannot depend entirely on the ordinary teacher if it is to deal successfully with problem children, and to make its contribution toward the prevention of delinquency. It needs a new type of person who will be qualified to deal with the child's social as well as

his educational problems; one who will have all the qualifications of a good teacher and a good social worker. This new type of worker in the school is known as the visiting teacher.

The visiting teacher represents the latest and most encouraging development in child-welfare work in the United States. Through the visiting teacher the school is using the best in case work and psychology in dealing with its problem children. Through the visiting teacher the school is making social case-work methods a part of its regular educational program. And the case-work approach is not limited to the problem child. The school is finding that this same method is most essential in dealing with all children. Educators have come to recognize that education is a coöperative enterprise; that it needs the closest coöperation between the school and the home; that it involves, moreover, the closest coöperation between the school and the agencies dealing with the child's leisure time.

Like other improvements in the school organization the visiting teacher movement owes its beginnings to the influence of private individuals and organizations. The first visiting teachers were employed by settlements in New York and Boston in 1906. Between 1913 and 1921 boards of education in various cities, including New York, Rochester, Chicago, and Boston, employed visiting teachers. At the present time at least 50 school departments in 26 states of the Union employ visiting teachers. From these figures it is evident that the visiting teacher movement has made as rapid progress as might be expected.⁵

Some four years ago a new impetus was given to visiting teacher work through the interest of the Commonwealth Fund. The officers of the Commonwealth Fund in coöperation with the National Committee on Visiting Teachers decided to establish visiting teacher demonstrations in thirty com-

⁵ J. J. Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher Movement* (New York Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925), pp. 1-26; Howard W. Nudd, *Case Work as Applied to the Schools* (National Conference of Social Work, Washington, 1923), pp. 422-425.

munities of varying sizes and representing varied types of problems. It is significant that the Commonwealth Fund has undertaken these experiments in visiting teacher work as a part of its program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. It is the intention of those in charge of the fund to extend these experiments to other communities and to make available the results of their experiences to communities undertaking the work on their own initiative.⁶

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. How far can the school, through a well developed visiting teacher service, take the place of the juvenile court in dealing with delinquent children?
2. Review the outstanding developments of the school as a social agency.
3. What advantages does the school have over other social agencies in dealing with families?
4. What are the possibilities of the school as an agency for preventive social work?
5. Secure five cases in which the behavior difficulties of children have been adjusted through the school.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABBOTT, EDITH, and BRECKENRIDGE, SOPHONISBA, *Truancy and Non-Attendance in Chicago Schools* (University of Chicago Press, 1917).
- BREWER, JOHN, *The Vocational Guidance Movement* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918).
- DOUGLAS, PAUL H., *American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, U. 95, No. 2, Columbia University, New York, 1921).
- ELLIS, MABEL BROWN, *The Visiting Teacher in Rochester* (Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York, 1925).
- HOLLINGSWORTH, H. L., *Vocational Psychology* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1916).
- LAPP, J. A., and MOTE, CARL H., *Learning to Earn* (Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1915).
- NEIL, JANE A., *Public Schools for Crippled Children* (National Conference of Social Work, Washington, 1923).

⁶ J. J. Oppenheimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-12.

- NUDD, HOWARD W., *Case Work as Applied to Schools* (National Conference of Social Work, Washington, 1923).
- O'GRADY, JOHN, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio* (Columbus, 1919).
- OPPENHEIMER, JULIUS JOHN, *The Visiting Teacher Movement* (New York Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925).
- PATRI, ANGELO, *School and Home* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1925).
- SAYLES, MARY B., *The Problem Child in School* (New York Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925).
- SNEDDEN, DAVID, *Educational Sociology* (The Century Co., New York, 1922).
- Vocational Education* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922).

CHAPTER XVII

PUBLIC WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

Charity in the Middle Ages.--Before the sixteenth century those in need of special assistance were cared for by the Church and the guilds or trade associations to which they belonged. From the very beginning charity had formed an essential part of the activities of the Church. Wherever the Church extended her influence monasteries, hospitals, and asylums of all kinds made their appearance. Throughout the middle ages a large part of the charities of the Church was administered by the monasteries and the hospitals. There was no monastery that did not have some special work of charity. Many times special provision was made for the care of the sick and needy in the monastery itself. The hospitals were, however, the most prominent form of medieval charity. They provided not only for the sick but also for the destitute and the aged. They were in reality, almshouses as well as hospitals. Hospitals sprang up in large numbers in every country in which the gospel had been preached.

The primary purpose of the medieval guilds was the regulation of trade. They were interested in maintaining high standards of workmanship. They were interested in regulating prices so that all craftsmen might receive a wage sufficient to maintain them according to the standards of their group. But the activities of the guilds were not confined to the regulation of trade. Like all social groups they gave expression to the ideals of their time. Being in the ascendancy during an age in which religion dominated the lives and thinking of the people they naturally gave a very important place to

religion in all their activities. As a part of their religious program the guilds engaged actively in works of charity.

The despoliation of the religious foundations by the government in England made an end in that country to the charities of the guilds. What made this despoliation especially serious was that it took place at a time when the whole system of medieval economy was breaking up. The turning of large numbers of acres of farm land into pasture was driving thousands of people from the country to the towns. The rise of powerful trading organizations gradually deprived the guilds of all regulatory authority. The decline in the value of money lowered the workmen's purchasing power very greatly. With these rather violent economic changes the number of persons depending on charity increased by leaps and bounds. In an earlier age the needy might look for assistance to the Church and the guilds, but now the Church had been deprived of her charitable foundations and the guilds had lost most of their power and influence. Under such conditions there was no other alternative except to look for assistance to the growing and powerful state.

The English Poor Law.—In the latter half of the fifteenth and throughout the entire sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the two supreme purposes of government were the building up of its own authority and the development of trade. The two purposes were inseparably united. The government felt that trade was the great means of increasing its resources and extending its power. For the purpose of fostering trade every detail of social and economic life was regulated by law. Among other things wages naturally became the subject of statutory regulation, and with the regulation of wages also came the regulation of apprenticeship and other matters entering into the labor contract. Severe penalties were attached to vagrancy and begging. An effort was made to provide work for the able-bodied poor who could not find work. The poor who were unable to work were provided for through public funds. The Poor Law act passed by the English Parliament in 1601 pro-

vided for the appointment of overseers of the poor annually by the justices of the peace in each parish. The overseers of the poor were charged with the duty of providing relief for those who were unable to work and of providing work for the able-bodied. They were also given authority to bind out dependent and neglected children during their minority.¹

The early American colonists brought over with them the institutions and traditions of the motherland. They copied the practices of England in all their political enterprises. They were not acquainted with any other system of relieving the poor besides that prevailing in England. Hence, they copied the English system of the sixteenth century without any important modifications. As the early settlers and their descendants moved westward they carried with them the institutions and laws of the parent colonies.²

Outdoor Relief in the United States.—Following the traditions of their mother country the early American colonists devised a few important methods of caring for the poor, namely outdoor relief and the poorhouse. In the New England states outdoor relief was a function of the towns. In the southern states it was a county function. In a number of middle western states, like Ohio and Indiana, the townships give temporary relief, but all cases needing relief over a long period are turned over to the counties.³ According to a recent study of poor relief in Pennsylvania up to the end of 1924 nineteen of the sixty-seven counties in the state administered their poor relief on the township and borough system.⁴

We have no figures on the total volume of outdoor relief in the United States. Figures from a number of states, however, indicate that the amount is quite large. In 1925 Massachusetts

¹ John Lewis Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (The Century Co., New York, 1921), pp. 142-146.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 146-148.

³ O'Grady, John, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio* (1925), pp. 232-234.

⁴ Emil Frankel, *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania, A State-Wide Survey* (Pennsylvania Dept. of Public Welfare, Bulletin 21, 1925), p. 99.

expended \$6,416,693.65 for maintaining the poor outside of the institutions.⁵ The total amount expended in outdoor relief in New York State in 1925 was \$3,709,882.21.⁶ According to incomplete reports made to the State Department of Public Welfare the township trustees in Ohio expended \$198,487.40 for relief in 1925.⁷

In his study of the cost of social work in nineteen cities in 1926 Mr. Raymond Clapp found that 55 per cent of the cost of family service in those cities came from public funds and 45 per cent from private agencies. Of the total expended for family service 73 per cent went for material relief and of the amount expended for material relief the proportions coming from public and private funds were 47 and 26 per cent respectively.⁸

For a number of years social work leaders in the United States were inclined to discourage public outdoor relief. As a result of their attitude outdoor relief was discontinued in many of the large cities like New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. Social workers felt that the administration of outdoor relief was so corrupt and inefficient as to prove more of a detriment than an aid to the poor. In reference to public relief as administered in Brooklyn in the early seventies a prominent contemporary leader said: "At the distributory offices on relief days hundreds of women could be seen waiting, possibly half a day, to receive their weekly doles. The amount thus distributed averaged about \$130,000 in value each winter, a sum fully three times the total of the annual relief supplied by private almsgiving societies."⁹

The evils of this system became so glaring in time that the people demanded its discontinuance. The place of public relief in Brooklyn was taken by a private society formed by

⁵ Massachusetts, State Department of Public Welfare, *Report* (1925), p. 142.

⁶ New York State Board of Charities, *Report* (1925), p. 328.

⁷ Ohio, State Department of Public Welfare, *Report* (1925), p. 71.

⁸ National Conference of Social Work, *Proceedings* (1926), p. 456.

⁹ Alfred F. White, *The Study of Twenty-five Years' Charities* (1904), Vol. XII, p. 7.

charitably inclined individuals. The developments in Brooklyn were typical of what happened in a number of other large cities. Public relief was abolished or reduced to a minimum and private societies sprang up to minister to the needs of the poor. For these societies the serving of those in need was not simply a matter of material relief. In fact, actual relief occupied only a very small place in their program. They were interested in the improvement of community conditions making for poverty. They were interested in coördinating and improving the various charitable activities of the community. They wanted to give all charitably inclined persons the opportunity of participating in works of service.

The writer recently talked with a secretary of a Family Welfare Society who had been all through the campaign against outdoor relief. For years he consistently opposed outdoor relief in his own city, but time and changed conditions modified his views very considerably. He now believes that public relief should be an essential part of the social work program of every American city, for the problem of material relief is too large for private initiative. Private societies cannot meet it alone. Public relief is returning in the cities in which it had been abandoned, but it is returning under different conditions. Private societies are now sufficiently well established to see to it that their methods and policies are accepted by public departments. The views of this pioneer leader in family social work are fairly representative of the views of family workers as a whole. We need public relief, but it must be administered by trained workers, according to the best social work standards, and it must be kept free from political manipulation.

In some cities, due to the influence of active private societies or of workers trained by private societies, public relief is administered according to high social work standards. The work of many of the public organizations compares favorably with that of the best private societies. On the whole, however,

the standards of public outdoor relief are very low. A questionnaire study recently made by a committee of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work revealed some very discouraging information in regard to the personnel and case work of public departments. Regarding the personnel of 122 public departments the committee found that twenty-four had no paid worker; thirty-three had paid workers absolutely unqualified by training or personality; thirty-two had workers with good personality but no social work training; four had some workers with good and some with poor personalities, but all untrained; sixteen had some staff member trained. For thirteen no information was received in regard to personnel. With such a personnel the departments could not reach very high case-work standards. The committee found that eighty of the departments attempted no case work, simply confining themselves to giving material relief.¹⁰

It is in the small towns and rural communities that we find the most deplorable conditions in outdoor relief. The standards of outdoor relief in these small communities are a reflection of the ideals and the thinking of the ordinary citizen. He looks upon the needs of the poor as a passing emergency to be remedied by a small amount of material relief. Hence, we find that in most instances when relief is given by the county commissioners or township trustees there is no investigation and no intelligent plan for the family. If any records are kept they include little more than the name and address of the family. In reference to poor relief as administered by the various counties in Pennsylvania, Mr. Emil Frankel states, "As many of our poor boards consider themselves primarily relief-giving agencies the investigation of cases often is perfunctory and is made chiefly with a view to determining the family's present financial status. It does not inquire into the specific problems which the family is facing as a basis for

¹⁰ American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, *Division of Work Between Public and Private Agencies Dealing with Families in Their Own Homes* (1925), pp. 3, 4.

determining what constructive plans should be set up.”¹¹

From his experience in studying the administration of outdoor relief in Ohio the writer will cite one illustration that may be regarded as fairly typical. In discussing relief in a certain county of the state with the clerk in charge, the writer asked if he might see the records. After some hesitation the clerk took an ordinary pad from the drawer of his desk. On it he had written in pencil the names and addresses of the persons receiving relief. We immediately proceeded to go over the names together. Every now and again the clerk would draw his pencil over a certain name with the statement, “I heard that So and so had moved away,” or “I heard that Mrs. So and so had married.” In all, some seventy-five families in the county were receiving material relief but not one of them had ever been visited.

There is very little hope for improved standards so long as relief is administered by the township trustees. The unit of administration is too small, so that it is really impossible to secure trained service. All studies of the problem have recommended making the county the unit of public relief administration.¹² With the county as the relief unit there is some hope for a better administration. In two counties in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Beaver, the county commissioners employ a trained welfare worker. The “Iowa plan” also holds out some hope for the future. This plan, which has been put into effect in a number of counties in Iowa, through the influence of the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa, involves the organization of a group of local people, representing the entire county as a local board of directors. The county supervisors are ex officio members of this board, since they are responsible by statute for the administration of poor relief from public funds. This board employs a trained social worker as executive and assistants if needed. The

¹¹ *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania*, p. 94.

¹² *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania*, p. 128; O’Grady, John, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio* (1925), p. 249.

salaries are met in part by the board and in part by the county.¹³

Marked progress has been made in a number of states, in the development of county boards of public welfare, which aim to coördinate and improve all types of social work in the counties. These boards frequently bring together under one centralized administration with one or more trained social workers outdoor relief, the care of dependent and neglected children, probation, the enforcement of child labor, and compulsory school attendance.

The Poorhouse.—The poorhouse was the original American institution for all persons needing care away from their own homes and unable to pay for it. "Historically," says Dr. Devine, "outdoor relief antedates the almshouse in nearly all the states." In many states the establishment of almshouses was due to a revolt against the abuses of outdoor relief.

Originally, children, the insane, the feeble-minded, the acutely as well as the chronically ill, and the vagrant seeking a winter's haven were all huddled together in the almshouse. Such a state of affairs naturally led to a revulsion of feeling. People came to see that the poorhouse was no place for the child, that it was no place for the insane, the feeble-minded, or the acutely sick. As one might expect, the children were the first to be removed. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the various states passed laws against the detention of children in poorhouses. After the children were removed from the poorhouses special provision had to be made for them. In a few states county children's homes were established. A few states also set up state children's homes. In a number of jurisdictions the public authorities looked to private agencies to provide for dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. Thus was begun that close association between the state and private child-caring work which stands out so prominently in

¹³ Louise Cottrell, "A Social Working State University," *Survey*, February 15, 1925, p. 582.

a number of the older states. In most places where the public authorities looked to private agencies to care for children, the authorities held themselves responsible for paying a certain amount for the children. In the beginning the private institutions usually secured their compensation in the form of an appropriation from the state legislatures. The more common and satisfactory method of compensating private institutions for public charges at the present time is through per capita payments. This means, in the last analysis, that the state is willing to pay a definite sum for definite services rendered. Here it might be well to note that there has been much discussion of the wisdom of public payments to private institutions for the care of children. This question will be discussed more fully in a later section of the present chapter.

Care of the Feeble-Minded.—In the United States the care of the feeble-minded has come to be regarded as a problem that must be solved on a state-wide basis. The individual counties and cities do not have sufficient resources to develop a systematic program. In 1918 there were thirty state institutions for the feeble-minded in the United States and nine state institutions for the feeble-minded and epileptics. There were also thirty-three private institutions for the feeble-minded. In spite of the encouraging development in institutions for the feeble-minded their facilities are still far from adequate. Many feeble-minded children are still housed in the county almshouses and institutions for dependent and neglected children, or permitted to be at large because there is no room for them in the state institutions. One of our most pressing problems in dealing with the feeble-minded is more adequate institutional facilities. Much remains to be done, moreover, in improving the standards of vocational training of the state institutions. By proper vocational training the high-grade feeble-minded can be made self-supporting. We have learned from experience that there are certain types of work in which they can become fairly efficient. They can qualify for certain trades in which a high degree of skill is not required. In order

to be really effective the training of the high-grade feeble-minded in state institutions must be supplemented by careful placement and after-care. The feeble-minded need special assistance in finding their place in the community. The state institution for the mentally handicapped should, therefore, have a number of well-trained parole officers to aid those that have been returned to the community in finding employment and to guide and counsel them in their difficulties. The low-grade feeble-minded (idiots and imbeciles) cannot take care of themselves on the outside. They cannot be made self-supporting and must have permanent custodial care. Massachusetts and New Jersey have pointed the way to a very economical method of custodial care for the low-grade feeble-minded by establishing farm colonies in connection with their present state institutions. It has been found that in these colonies a number of the low-grade feeble-minded can do much useful work and thereby become at least partially self-supporting.¹⁴

Many sociologists are inclined to look upon sterilization as a panacea for the problem of the low-grade feeble-minded. If such persons were sterilized, it is claimed, they could be paroled from institutions without any danger to themselves or to society because they would no longer be able to propagate, and the state would be saved a very large item of expense. Sterilization laws are in effect in the states of Indiana, Connecticut, California, and Virginia. The United States Supreme Court has recently handed down a decision upholding the constitutionality of the Virginia law. Speaking on behalf of the Court, Justice Holmes said: "We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. It would be strange if it could not call upon those who already sap the strength of the state for lesser sacrifices often not felt to be such, by those concerned in order to prevent incompetence."¹⁵ "This statement is evi-

¹⁴ J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency* (The Century Co., New York, 1921), p. 329.

¹⁵ *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), p. 226.

dently an exaggeration. There is no parallel between calling on men to give their lives for their country when it is in imminent danger and the sterilizing of defective persons to prevent the propagation of their kind. In the first instance the state has no alternative in protecting itself against serious danger. In the second instance the state is not in imminent danger and it has another and more effective means of protecting itself, namely, segregation.”¹⁶

Furthermore, the advocates of sterilization assume that those on whom the operation has been performed may be safely returned to society and cease to become a burden on society, but this assumption is not founded on any factual basis. We know that sterilization does not cure or mitigate abnormal sex impulses. Those who have been sterilized are too liable to gratify their impulses without restraint and to spread venereal diseases in their path. Sterilization is certainly not going to make them self-supporting. They will, in all probability, be a greater burden on society outside than inside the institution. “If,” as the author has stated in another connection, “the state can sterilize persons who are seriously defective mentally and whose defects are hereditary, what about borderline cases and those whose heredity is doubtful?”¹⁷

“The most dangerous cases,” according to Professor Burt, “are the borderline cases and these are always the hardest to diagnose and would be the last for which drastic measures could be enforced.”¹⁸

The Insane.—In the beginning the insane, like other types of persons needing public care, were provided for in the county poorhouses. The more violent cases were sent to the local jails. The abuses to which the insane were subjected in the poorhouses and jails led to the establishment of special state institutions. In one state, Wisconsin, special provision

¹⁶ *Buck v. Bell et al.* U. S. Supreme Court, No. 292, October, 1926.

¹⁷ *Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), p. 225.

¹⁸ Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1927), p. 306.

was made for separate county institutions for the insane, the state paying a part of the cost of maintenance. A few cities have established municipal institutions for the insane. Taking the country as a whole, however, it may be said that the care of the insane has come to be regarded as a state problem. In addition to the county almshouses that did not segregate their insane, there were in the United States in 1910 two hundred and forty-five public institutions for the insane. Of these 140 were state hospitals, 98 were county institutions and 7 were municipal institutions.¹⁹

In the first special institutions for the insane there was very little effort toward classification. Curable cases, the incurable, and criminally insane were all housed in large congregate buildings. In recent years a more consistent effort has been made to classify the various types of insane persons. A few states have special institutions for the criminally insane and for curable cases. All the best authorities on mental disease at the present time believe that the cottage plan institution is the best for the care of the insane. With separate cottages it is possible to develop a proper system of classification. The cottage also creates a homelike atmosphere which is very helpful in the treatment of insanity.

Boarding out represents another very interesting development in the care of the insane. This plan has been tried out with notable success in Scotland and Belgium. In 1893 Massachusetts adopted the plan of boarding in private families certain types of insane persons. The families are paid a weekly rate for the care of the patients. All the patients are visited regularly by the representatives of the hospitals from which they have been placed.

Many hospitals for the insane now have out-patient departments for treatment of less serious cases or of patients who have been discharged. The mental clinic has also become an essential part of every well-equipped general hospital. A great many general hospitals, moreover, have psychopathic

¹⁹ Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-280.

departments for the emergency care of the insane and for the treatment of milder cases of mental disorder.

Within the past few years psychiatric social work has come to play a very important part in the treatment of mental disease. It is generally recognized that the conditions under which people live are an important factor in mental as well as physical ills. The physician of the mind in treating his patients, therefore, must deal with the home situations, and the business difficulties that may have irritated them and upset their mental balance, and he must devise ways and means of controlling these situations and difficulties. In this the neurologist needs the assistance of the psychiatric social worker. He must depend on him to furnish the information necessary for a successful diagnosis, and he must look to him for assistance in carrying out his plan of treatment.

As a general rule judicial procedure is required in all the states for the commitment of insane patients. In recent years an exception has been made permitting emergency and voluntary commitments without the formality of a court procedure. Emergency commitment may be made in a number of states on the certificate of two physicians. Some states still adhere to the old and discredited method of requiring a jury trial for the commitment of all insane patients.²⁰

The Sick.—In a great many rural communities the sick who are unable to pay for hospital care must still go to the county almshouses. In some states a number of rural counties have erected county hospitals or combined with other counties for the purpose of doing so. In a number of sections of Ohio, counties have coöperated in building and maintaining inter-county tuberculosis hospitals. The inter-county hospital is really the only remedy for inadequate hospital facilities in rural communities. In the large centers of population hospital facilities for the poor have become increasingly adequate. Most of these facilities, however, have been developed under private auspices. According to the United States Bureau of

²⁰ Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

the Census there were 4,978 hospitals in operation in the United States January 1, 1923. Of the total of 4,978, 4,949 reported the auspices under which they were conducted. Of this number 16.9 per cent were conducted under governmental auspices, 16.4 per cent under religious auspices, 33.8 per cent under the auspices of private corporations or associations, 23.1 per cent under individual auspices, 2.4 per cent under industrial auspices, 3.7 per cent under the auspices of partnership and 3.7 per cent under other auspices.²¹

From these figures it is quite evident that the public general hospital plays a relatively unimportant rôle in hospital work in the United States. The hospital has made a very powerful appeal to private charity. Some of the medical schools found it necessary to develop their own hospitals for teaching purposes. As a recognition of their responsibility for the care of the acutely sick many of the large cities have entered into agreements with the private hospitals providing for the payment of a certain amount per capita for all public charges admitted to the hospitals.

In the ordinary American city nursing of one form or another is conducted under public auspices. In comparatively few cases has the city, as such, developed a complete program of public-health nursing. There is, however, a very striking tendency to have the city increase its activities in the nursing field, year by year. The minimum amount of service that we expect from the city in the nursing field is that it supply a sufficient number of nurses to care for infectious and contagious diseases, including venereal disease and tuberculosis.

It is in the rural communities that a nursing service under public auspices is particularly necessary. In the large cities with their great wealth and fairly well-developed social sense, we can look to private initiative in this matter to a much greater degree than in the rural communities. If we are to have a nursing service in the county it must be developed by

²¹ United States Dept. of Commerce Bureau of the Census. *Hospitals and Dispensaries* (Washington, 1923), p. 5.

public authority. A number of states have been endeavoring to solve the problem by having the counties employ full-time nurses. The school nurse has everywhere come to be accepted as an essential part of a public-health program. The desirability of employing school nurses at public expense is questioned no more by intelligent citizens than the employment of public-school teachers.

Due to the recent findings of the United States Children's Bureau and other agencies on the prevalence of infant and maternal mortality there has been a heightened interest on the part of the public in the hygiene of infancy and maternity. A great number of persons have been interested in eliminating the large number of preventable deaths of mothers and babies by better medical and nursing service for mothers before, during, and after child-birth, and by more extensive medical and nursing service for babies during the first year of their lives.

Some twenty-five to thirty years ago charitably inclined individuals established public stations to supply pure milk at cost to the children of the poor. It is a long step from these first milk stations to the program of our present child-welfare centers, but the step has been taken in a comparatively short time. The milk station soon recognized that the child needed more than milk; he needed a complete health program. It was this thought that inspired the organization of the child welfare centers under private auspices with well-developed health-programs not only for the child, but also for the mother. It is very apparent that child health and the health of the mother cannot be separated. The care given to the mother before, during, and after child-birth is all-important for the future health and welfare of the child. In the past few years cities have been taking over the work of the child welfare centers. The hygiene of infancy and maternity is now looked upon as a public function, as a function of the city, county, state, and nation. Such is the importance attached to this problem that the federal government has come to take a very active part in its solution. In 1922 Congress passed what is

known as the Sheppard-Towner bill to provide federal aid for the states for the promotion of the program of hygiene of infancy and maternity. For every dollar expended by the states in promoting a more efficient health service for mothers and infants, the federal government is prepared to expend the same amount, provided, however, the states conform to certain standards formulated by the United States Children's Bureau, which is charged with the administration of the law.

Improved Standard in Almshouses.—Theoretically the poorhouse, almshouse, or county infirmary, as it is variously known, is intended for the care of the dependent aged. It is the one great means through which society recognizes its responsibility for penniless old age. The other types of persons originally cared for in the poorhouse are now supposed to be provided for in specialized institutions. But when we face the facts we are quite disillusioned. In spite of the efforts to provide specialized care for different types of dependents the poorhouse still remains a catch-all. It provides not only for the dependent aged, but also for the chronically ill and for the feeble-minded who cannot be admitted to overcrowded state institutions. The poorhouse offers a "winter haven" to the vagrant. In many rural communities it is the only institution for the sick poor. Even in this enlightened age we not infrequently find children in the county poorhouses. A recent study of almshouses in Pennsylvania found that at the end of 1923 about 200 children were maintained in the almshouses of the state. During 1923 about 400 children were admitted to the almshouses of Pennsylvania.²²

The reform that is needed most in the almshouses of the United States is the removal from them of the various types of persons who need specialized institutional care. The almshouse is no place for the critically ill. They should be cared for in general hospitals. The feeble-minded should be in state institutions. The admission of children to almshouses is gen-

²² *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania*, p. 25; O'Grady, John, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio* (1925), pp. 238-241.

erally prohibited by state laws. The various state departments or boards of public welfare should see to it that these laws are rigidly enforced. Vagrants should be sent to farm colonies so that they may have the opportunity of acquiring habits of useful work.

After provision has been made for the various types of persons needing special care we will still have in the almshouses a fairly large number of old and infirm persons. We owe it to them to provide a much higher type of care than our almshouses are capable of giving at the present time. The almshouses need greatly improved standards of medical care. They should have hospital facilities for the care of the chronically ill. They should pay more attention to diet, sanitation, and cleanliness. Above all, the almshouses need a better type of personnel. As long as we continue to look upon almshouse management as a means of providing berths for county politicians we will not make much progress in improving their standards. There are many ways in which volunteer charitable organizations can contribute to the happiness of the almshouse inmates. They can provide interesting reading matter for them; they can console the penniless old folks by providing little delicacies for them; they can bring to them the consolations of religion, and they can help make their dreary lives more cheerful by organizing entertainments for them.

CHAPTER XVIII

PUBLIC WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES—*Continued*

Welfare Functions of State.—The state as a unit of government in this country has three important functions in social work: (1) the administration of state institutions, such as state institutions for the feeble-minded, state hospitals for the insane, and the various state correctional institutions; (2) the supervision and standardization of public social work done by counties, towns, townships, and cities; (3) supervision of the work of private agencies.

By reason of the varied standards of welfare administration prevailing in the local communities of any particular state it is all-important that there should be one central body in each state to coördinate and supervise local welfare activities.

It is a generally accepted principle in the United States that each and every local community should not be free to neglect its obligations toward its various handicapped groups. While the largest share of public responsibility for the handicapped belongs to the local community, it is the duty of the state as a whole to see to it that each community discharges its responsibilities according to reasonable standards. The state also has very important educational opportunities in dealing with local communities. It can give different communities an opportunity of profiting by one another's experience. It can bring to each community the best experience of other communities, not only in the state, but in the country as a whole. As a matter of concrete experience the state has made much greater progress in dealing with local communities when it has employed educational methods rather than the authority given by law. If state authority becomes obnoxious

to them, local political leaders can devise methods of successfully resisting it.

One of the most important contributions of the state to local work in the United States is the development of uniform systems of public welfare administration in the various counties. In a number of states the state department charged with the administration of public welfare is authorized to establish county boards of public welfare for the purpose of coördinating and improving county work. These county boards make it possible to have a coördinated service program in each state, and what is more important, they make it possible to secure a trained social work personnel for county work.

When state institutions for the mentally and physically handicapped were first established they were administered by separate volunteer boards appointed by the governor. This system was very uneconomical. It brought about log-rolling in the state legislatures, and, therefore, made it exceedingly difficult to develop a consistent state program for the handicapped. Many of the states have recently substituted central state boards for separate boards in the administration of state institutions.

State and Private Social Work.—The relations between the state and private social work in the United States vary considerably according to the traditions of different local communities. In some communities private agencies for children were developed very early and on a sufficiently large scale to meet all the needs of the situation. In these communities the city or county decided to use the private agency rather than organize a public agency at much greater expense to the taxpayers. In other communities private child-caring agencies did not develop so rapidly, and the cities and counties or states were compelled to develop their own agencies.

This principle, while it explains much in the relations between public and private social work in the United States,

does not explain everything. The situation is complicated in different communities by differences in racial background and by the varying ideals and standards of those who determine public opinion.

There is scarcely any other question in the whole field of social work that has caused so much heated, and at times acrimonious, discussion as the advisability of having the state enter into a contract with private agencies for the care of children or for the care of the sick. Most of the discussion, however, has centered around the field of child-care. A fairly large number of social workers have been opposed to the state's entering into contractual relations with private agencies for the care of children. They claim that the payment of a definite per capita rate to private agencies for the care of children tends to multiply unnecessarily private child-caring agencies and especially private child-caring institutions. Those who are opposed to the state's entering into contractual relations with private agencies contend that the system removes its own wards from the control of the state, and that the state, in the last analysis, will have very little influence on the standards of care given them. The opponents of the contract system of child care further contend that when the state assumes responsibility for any form of work it is a much better policy for it to do the work directly through a public agency rather than through a private agency over which it exercises very little control.

The first argument of the opponents of per capita payments to private child-caring institutions is not borne out by the facts. The number of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children in institutions in the District of Columbia in 1921 was 342 per hundred thousand population; the number in New York in the same year was 305 per hundred thousand; the number in California was 167 per hundred thousand. In the District of Columbia per capita payments are practically non-existent. In New York and California most

of the children are cared for by private agencies on a per capita basis.¹ In the District of Columbia, which has a public child-caring agency, the number of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children in the care of institutions and child-placing societies is far greater in proportion to the population than in any state in the union. In 1923 the number under care in the District was 503.1 per hundred thousand inhabitants; Massachusetts, with a public system of child care, also stood very high in the list with 372.8 per hundred thousand; California, with practically no public agencies for the care of dependent and neglected children, had a ratio of 208.6 per hundred thousand or much less than half of the District of Columbia ratio.²

As to the question of surrendering its control over its wards, cannot the state assure itself of reasonable standards of care by a system of licensing and supervision? What need should there be for any further control? Again, why should the state want to do all the work for which it has assumed responsibility? If it can have part of its work of child care done by private organizations just as effectively and at smaller cost what reasonable objection is there to using the private agencies? The state owes it to its citizens to encourage private initiative in every reasonable way, and especially to foster the fine idealism that finds expression in private child-caring work.³

There is no question any longer about the right of the state to license and supervise private child-caring agencies whether they receive public aid or not. Licensing is a protection to the agency itself, to the charitable public and to the children. Well-meaning persons have sometimes taken up the work of child care without a proper personnel and the

¹ H. H. Hart, *Child Welfare in the District of Columbia* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922), p. 42.

² United States Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Children Under Institutional Care* (Washington, 1923), pp. 18-19.

³ Thomas M. Mulry, "The Government in Charity," National Conference of Catholic Charities (1912), pp. 39-48.

necessary facilities. Some fourteen states now have legal provision for the licensing of child-caring agencies. Licenses are issued by a state department to each agency and are renewable after a period of a year. In order to receive a license the agency must conform to certain fundamental standards embodied in the law or formulated by the state department charged with its enforcement. The results secured by a licensing law in improved standards of child care depend on the way in which the law is administered. In some states the law is practically a dead letter due to an untrained or insufficient personnel in the state department. In other states the law has had a far-reaching educational influence on private child care. It has brought many child-caring institutions and agencies into contact with modern movements in child care for the first time. The states in which licensing has been most effective have found that they could secure much more satisfactory results by educational methods than by fear or force. They have found it most essential to win the confidence of the private agencies in order to bring about needed changes in their methods and policies.

Types of State Public Welfare Agencies.—The movement for the creation of central state agencies for standardizing the care, custody, and treatment of persons needing special care began in Massachusetts in 1863 when the legislature of that state created a state board of charities. The example of Massachusetts has since been followed by 44 other states. The various states, however, have not followed any one pattern in their central state agencies. Eleven states have unpaid supervisory boards. Generally speaking, these boards are charged with the supervision and standardizing of public and private social-work agencies in their respective states. They employ full-time staffs to carry out their programs. Ten states have administrative boards that are unpaid or ex-officio. These boards are usually charged with the administration of state institutions. The exofficio boards consist ordinarily of a number of state officers such as the gov-

ernor, the secretary of state, and the superintendent of public instruction. Ten states have salaried boards of control, charged with administrative and supervisory functions. They administer state institutions and supervise local, public and private agencies. As a rule each member of the board of control is in charge of a division of the work. Four states maintain two separate boards, one exercising supervisory and the other administrative functions.⁴

There are four prevalent types of state public welfare agencies in the United States; the departmental type, the professional board type, the lay board type, and the miscellaneous type.

The departmental type is headed by a director appointed by the governor and directly responsible to him. Since the director owes his appointment to the governor and is a part of the administration, he goes out of office with the governor. The advocates of this plan contend that it is in harmony with recent tendencies toward centralization of responsibility in state administration. Social workers, generally speaking, are opposed to the plan because it means the subjecting of social-work programs to the vicissitudes of politics and makes it very difficult to have any continuity of policy.

The professional board usually consists of three to five persons who give their entire time to the work. The members are appointed so that their terms of office expire at different times. It is, therefore, impossible for any one state administration to change the policies entirely. In some states the professional boards have done very good work. In other states they have proved quite efficient in the administration of state institutions, but have not made much progress in developing broad social programs for their respective states.

The lay board consists of a number of persons, generally

⁴ Howard W. Odum and D. W. Willard, *Systems of Public Welfare* (University of North Carolina Press (1925)), p. 28; S. P. Breckinridge, "Summary of the Present State System for the Organization and Administration of Public Welfare," *Annals of American Academy of Social and Political Science* (January, 1923), pp. 93-103.

five to nine, who are willing to give part of their time to this form of public service without compensation. In order to make for continuity of policy the terms of office of the members of the lay board are so arranged as to expire at different times.

It is intended that the lay board should formulate general policies and that it should have authority to appoint an executive and a staff to carry out these policies under its direction. The lay board, moreover, is a very excellent means of tying up the citizens of the state with its public social-work program. The members are fairly representative of the different groups in the state engaged in social work. The members of the lay board representing, as they do, the most enlightened citizenship of the state can render a great service in protecting social work standards against undue political influence.

In a number of states we find boards that do not come within any of the aforementioned classifications. To this miscellaneous type would belong the various forms of *ex officio* boards, consisting of a number of representatives of existing state departments.

Social-work leaders prefer the lay board to any other form of state organization for public welfare. Social work, they contend, is different from all other types of work carried on by the state, with the possible exception of education. It is a work that deals with human beings in distress. It is a work that calls for active participation by the citizens of the state and it is a work that is not yet as generally understood by the ordinary citizens as it should be.

The State and Private Initiative.—In the past, public social work in this country was done so poorly and was subject to such a multitude of abuses as to create a serious reaction against it. For a number of years, therefore, persons interested in social work were inclined to confine the activities of the state in this sphere within rather narrow limits. There was a particularly strong feeling against outdoor relief. Within the past fifteen years or so the attitude toward

public social work has changed very considerably. The private agencies now feel that they are sufficiently strong to have a determining influence on the policies of public departments. They feel that with more general public education in regard to social work the public agency can be depended on to maintain higher standards of service. A third important factor in the attitude of private social agencies toward public work has been the increasing size of the problems to be met. The volume of material relief alone has increased so rapidly during the past ten years as to create an almost insuperable burden for the private agencies. The whole tendency in social work, at the present time, seems to be to turn over to the state certain forms of service demanding standardized technique and procedure and also problems calling for large relief expenditures, leaving to the private agencies the new forms of service and those entailing a high degree of skill and training. The turning over of a large part of the relief work and the more or less standardized forms of service is not going to lessen in the slightest degree the opportunities of the private agency. Its opportunities for real service have been increased rather than diminished by the development of public agencies. It has discovered for itself new opportunities which heretofore had remained untouched. It has a very important obligation, moreover, to see to it that public work is carried on according to the best standards. In the absence of strong, active, and militant private agencies it is not easy for the public agencies to maintain the best standards.

The religious agency should welcome the development of more adequate public care for those in distress. Representing, as it does, the Church's mission of mercy to the weak, it can still maintain its contact with families needing service or relief. Any public agency that is trying to do good work will naturally welcome good coöperative relationships with private religious agencies. It will look to the religious agency for assistance in solving a large number of the special problems

arising in its families, especially the moral and religious problems.

It must not be hastily concluded from the foregoing paragraphs that the author looks to the state as the normal agency for all social work and that the only function of the private agency is to experiment and demonstrate the value of certain forms of service. On the contrary, the author is strongly of the opinion that the private agency, representing as it does private initiative of an especially consecrated type of service, is the normal agency for social work. Only when it has become evident beyond a reasonable doubt that private initiative has failed and that there is a serious situation which menaces the welfare of the people is the state justified in taking a hand. Instead of trying to undermine private initiative the state should endeavor to foster it in every way possible.

"In relief work of whatsoever kind," says Dr. Kerby, "the presumption is against action by the state and in favor of private initiative. This initiative may appear in the form of individual or collective effort. The presumption does not forbid state action. It yields when the facts warrant yielding. This is essentially a principle of political democracy. It is not distinctively Catholic, nor can it be. It is probable, however, that emphasis upon the principle is more marked in Catholic than in other circles. It is in complete harmony with the principle that makes the service of the poor essentially a religious act. Democracy in its wider sense is primarily moral and spiritual and secondarily political."⁵

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. How far does your city assume definite responsibility for the care of dependent, neglected and delinquent children? What are the relations between your city and county and private child-caring agencies?

2. Describe the various forms of social work administered by

⁵ W. J. Kerby, *The Social Mission of Charity* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921), p. 120.

public agencies in your community. What was the total amount of money expended by public welfare agencies in your community last year?

3. What are the functions of the state department charged with public welfare administration in your state?

4. What facilities have been developed for the care of the feeble-minded in your state? How far are these facilities adequate?

5. Outline the principles governing the relations of the state to private social work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ORGANIZING FAMILY SOCIAL WORK, *Division of Work Between Public and Private Agencies Dealing with Families in Their Own Homes* (New York, 1925).
- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, "Public Welfare in the United States" (January, 1923).
- BURT, CYRIL, *The Young Delinquent* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1925).
- Catholic Charities Review*, XI (1927), No. 6, p. 225.
- CLAPP, RAYMOND, *Support of Social Work* (National Conference of Social Work, 1926).
- COTTRELL, LOUISE, "A Social Working State University," *Survey*, LIII (1925), No. 10, pp. 581-583.
- FRANKEL, EMIL, *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania, A State-Wide Survey* (Department of Public Welfare, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Bulletin 21, 1925).
- GILLIN, JOHN LEWIS, *Poverty and Dependency* (The Century Co., New York, 1921), Chs. 11-18, 20, 25.
- HART, H. H., *Child Welfare in the District of Columbia* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922).
- KERBY, W. J., *The Social Mission of Charity* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1921).
- LUNDBERG, EMMA O., "The County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child-caring and Protective Work" (United States Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Publication No. 159, 1926).
- MASSACHUSETTS. STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, *Report* (1925).
- NEW YORK. STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES, *Report* (1925).
- OHIO. STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, *Report* (1925).
- ODUM, HOWARD W., and WILLARD, D. W., *Systems of Public Welfare* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1925).
- United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Children Under Institutional Care* (Washington, D. C., 1923).
—*Hospitals and Dispensaries* (Washington, D. C., 1923).

O'GRADY, JOHN, *Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio* (Columbus, 1919), Ch. 17.

WHITE, ALFRED E., *The Study of Twenty-five Years' Charities* (Reference made in Watson, Frank Dekker, *Charity Organization Movement in the United States* [The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922]).

CHAPTER XIX

LEISURE TIME

During the past few years we have come to attach a new importance to the use of leisure time. We have come to see more clearly the close connection between the use of leisure time and the health and welfare of the people. The World War released a great many forces that enhanced the general appreciation of leisure time. It was all important that the fighting men of the nation be kept in good physical condition and that their enthusiasm be maintained. With this purpose in view it was deemed necessary not only to provide a rigid course of military training for them, but also to look to the proper employment of their leisure time. Since the World War was carried on not only by the fighting men in the trenches but by all the citizens of the nations involved, it was necessary that the physical well-being of the nations as a whole should be properly safeguarded. During the war all citizens were called upon to expend an unusual amount of energy. The workers in mines and factories were urged to increase their output. It was soon learned that the efficiency of the worker and his ability to maintain increased output depended to a very large degree on his use of leisure time.

Industry and Leisure Time.—Before the development of modern industrialism there was not the same clear line of demarcation between work and play that we find at present. The craftsman working in his own home got a great deal more pleasure out of his work than does the modern worker. The craftsman turned out a finished product in which he prided himself. For the skilled craftsman work was a pleasure. It satisfied his creative instincts. He was not tied down by rigid

rules. He was free to interrupt his work as often as the spirit moved him. The factory operative must devote a certain number of hours each day to the performance of routine operations. The character of his work varies little from day to day. He sees very little connection between his dull monotonous task and the finished product. It is no wonder, therefore, that the factory operative looks for his recreation and his pleasure outside of working hours. "My fellow citizens," says Roscoe Pound, "most of whom work in factories where the industrial function is minutely divided . . . display astonishing energy in their after-work pursuits. The married men re-establish their equilibrium by gardening prodigiously and tinkering furiously around their homes—a socially satisfactory adjustment. The homeless rush hither and thither by motor when they are flush and wander aimlessly around the streets when they are broke. Books and quiet conversation are a bit too tame for men who feel that while they get their livings in the shop they must live their lives outside the shop."¹

The modern factory worker must recover his balance during his leisure hours. He must have an opportunity for wholesome recreation in order that he may develop his God-given powers of body and mind. He must have an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge and developing the ideals that are necessary for the improvement of his status. An eight-hour working day has been one of the basic ideals of every program of social reform. Every person who has been interested in improving the conditions of wage-earners has looked for the time when the routine of their lives would provide eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep and eight hours of leisure. One of the arguments originally used against shorter hours of work for wage-earners was that they could not be trusted to use the additional time at their disposal to their own best advantage. There is no reason for believing that the workers, any more than other citizens, will not spend their leisure time

¹ Extract in Douglas (and others), *Worker and Modern Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 448.

usefully if they are given proper opportunities for wholesome recreation and also the opportunities they need in order to improve their educational status. In our modern cities with their spacious parks and playgrounds there is scarcely any type of play which the ordinary worker may not enjoy. Through evening classes of one kind or another, he is given a splendid opportunity of improving his mind. Through museums and libraries he has placed at his disposal the finest products of human culture.

The City and Leisure Time.—The increasing congestion in the industrial sections of American cities and the resulting bad housing conditions have made it imperative for city government to make larger provisions for play. Children have been compelled to play on the streets and have thus been exposed to all the dangers, both physical and moral, of street life. Lacking proper guidance and direction they easily become the prey of unwholesome and positively vicious influences.

Leisure Time and Delinquency.—Studies made in a number of cities have shown a very close connection between the use of leisure time and juvenile delinquency. In a study of delinquency and spare time in Cleveland in 1917, Mr. Henry W. Thurston found (1) that spare time is not only an important factor in the delinquencies of three out of four of the juvenile delinquents studied, but frequently also of the delinquencies of young people and adults: (2) that the relations between delinquency and spare time reduce to two kinds: (a) relation so close as to amount in many cases to an identity of habitual spare-time activities to delinquency; (b) a contributory relation of spare-time activities to delinquency through knowledge of opportunity for and temptations to delinquency. That effective prevention of delinquencies among children, young men and women, and adults, as far as these delinquencies are due to the opportunities and temptations of spare-time activities, cannot be looked for

until innocent counter-opportunities for spare-time activity are adequate both in variety and quantity to the needs of the whole mass of the people.²

Commercial Recreation.—The unparalleled growth of commercial recreation has given a great impetus to the recreation movement in the United States. Much of the commercial recreation in this country is of a passive character. Much of it is also positively harmful, especially to children. Recreation leaders have felt that there was a great need of types of amusement that would neutralize the influence of commercial recreation and would call for more active participation by the people.³

Leisure Time and Education.—In recent years there has been a new appreciation of the value of leisure time in education. Educators have come to believe that the 1,500 to 1,800 hours which the child spends in play every year have as great, if not a greater influence, on the development of his mind as the 1,000 hours a year he spends in school. It is only during his play hours that the child has an opportunity of really being himself. The child does not have any choice about going to school or what he shall do in school. He does not have much choice at home. In play he enjoys the privilege of making his own selections. The child's play groups are really his first free associations. Play gives the child an opportunity of putting into practice the lessons he has learned at home or in school. At play the child reveals those defects which education must remedy.⁴

"Play," says Joseph Lee, "is an essential part of education. It is nature's prescribed course. School is valuable in forming

² Henry W. Thurston, *Delinquency and Spare Time* (Cleveland Foundation Survey, 1917), p. 181. For review of other studies of relation of recreation to delinquency see John J. O'Connor, *Recreation and Its Relation to Delinquency* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1920), pp. 308-316.

³ Playground and Recreation Association of America, *Normal Course in Play* (A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1926), p. 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

the child to meet actual social opportunities and conditions. Without the school he will not grow up to fit our institutions. Without play he will not grow up at all.”⁵

The Church and Leisure Time.—Wholesome play is a great asset in the work of the Church. Many parishes have, therefore, organized systematic recreational programs. They have learned that these programs are a most helpful means of getting the people to participate more actively in the work of the Church. They add a new attraction to parish organizations and they radiate the influence of religion in places that could not be reached in any other way.

Public and Private Agencies in Recreation.—The largest part of the leisure time of the ordinary individual, about sixty per cent, is spent in his own home or in the enjoyment of certain types of self-directed recreation that appeal to him. Forty per cent of the individual's time is occupied by organized recreational programs, both public and private. Public agencies occupy about forty per cent of the field of organized recreation; coöperative, self-supporting agencies, such as clubs and lodges, occupy about thirty per cent of the field.⁶ The above figures describe the situation in Cleveland. It is assumed that they are fairly typical.

Home and Leisure Time.—It is all too frequently assumed that home recreation is entirely a thing of the past. But many parents are demonstrating that it is possible to make the modern home a real recreational center. Intelligent parents are giving more and more thought to making home recreation attractive to their children. They have been trying home games in which they join with the children. As the children grow up they are encouraged to organize parties at home for their friends. One instance has come to the writer's attention in which a number of families have banded together for the

⁵ Joseph Lee, *Play in Education* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915), p. 7.

⁶ *Community Recreation Program* (Cleveland Foundation Survey), pp. 104, 105.

purpose of cultivating home recreation for the adolescent children.

Recreation as a Public Function.—Public recreation has come to be viewed as one of the most important functions of municipal government in the United States. Every city of any consequence now has a department or commission dealing with recreation. This department or commission conducts playgrounds under trained leadership, provides recreational facilities in public parks, and sometimes conducts community theaters and community musical programs.

While there is not entire agreement as to whether public recreation for children should be under the school board or a separate commission, the general drift is toward the latter form of organization. It is the general belief that a separate commission devoted entirely to recreational work can develop a more extensive and better balanced program.

In 1886 the city of Boston established what is said to be the first public playground in the United States. When the Playground and Recreation Association of America was established in 1906, forty-one cities were conducting public playgrounds. In 1924, 652 cities were conducting playgrounds. The total number of playgrounds in these cities was 5,006. In the same year, 15,871 leaders were employed by American cities in recreational work. Of these, 2,783 were employed on an all-year-round basis. These figures illustrate in a very striking way the growth of the recreation movement in American cities during recent years.⁷

The public recreational program of the American city today calls not only for sufficient and conveniently located play spaces and for play leadership but also for the development of music and dramatics. Community concerts in public parks have become quite popular in a number of cities. At least one city, St. Louis, has a municipal open-air theater. The city conducts an opera in this theater every summer.

⁷ Playground and Recreation Association of America, *Normal Course in Play*, p. 234.

School Community Centers.—The community center departments of the public schools have done much to foster public interest in dramatics. The school community centers have also done much for the development of indoor play facilities during the winter months. In the building of new schools increasing attention is being given to their possibilities as community centers. They are usually equipped with gymnasiums and auditoriums. Attention is also being given to the development of proper facilities for indoor play and club meetings.

The parochial school can become a real center for the development of a Catholic recreational program. It should, for this purpose, be equipped with gymnasium, auditorium, or at least a combination gymnasium-auditorium, shower baths, rooms for indoor play and club meetings. It should also have a well-equipped playground for outdoor play.

Distribution of Public Playgrounds.—A large part of the effectiveness of public playgrounds depends on their proper distribution. The American Institute of Park Executives, on the basis of a study made in Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Washington, Detroit, and St. Paul, found that 50.4 per cent of the children travel one-fourth of a mile or less, 74.5 per cent travel one-half a mile or less, 86 per cent travel less than three-fourths of a mile and only 14 per cent travel a mile or more to a playground.⁸

It is generally estimated that the effective radius of a playground for children of school age is not more than one-fourth mile. Every playground should have a division for small children, a division for girls, and a division for boys. The playground must be equipped to meet the needs of these three groups. More important, however, than adequate space and equipment is a well-trained personnel. "It is an axiom," says Dr. Furfey, "that a poorly supervised playground is worse than no playground at all."⁹

⁸ Playground and Recreation Association of America, *Normal Course in Play*, p. 143.

⁹ Paul H. Furfey, *The Gang Age* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926), p. 150.

Compulsory Physical Training.—Legislation for compulsory physical education in grade schools has aided very materially in the development of a broad recreational program for children. In 1918 eleven states had some form of legislation for physical education. In 1924 the number of states providing for physical education in the schools had increased to thirty-three.

National Organizations Interested in Leisure Time.—The last twenty years have seen a very rapid growth of private national organizations interested in the promotion of leisure time activities for the young. Among these the most outstanding, are the Playground and Recreation Association of America, the Boy Scouts of America, the Catholic Boys' Brigade, and the Girl Scouts of America. The Playground and Recreation Association of America is interested in the promotion of wholesome recreation both for children and adults.

The Boy Scouts of America is a movement for character building and citizenship training for boys of twelve and upward. Its program includes hiking, camping, swimming, boating, signaling, and nature study. It aims to develop the boy physically, mentally, and morally. The basic unit in the organization of the Boy Scouts is the scout troop with a maximum of thirty-two boys in charge of a scoutmaster, who works out the scout program with the members of his troop. The scout master has considerable latitude in the program. The Catholic scout-master, in charge of the Catholic troop, can add all the features that are necessary to develop the Catholic life of the boys. He can have the boys assist in various parish activities, he can emphasize Catholic principles in their daily relations, he can foster various Catholic devotions, and he can have the boys attend Holy Communion in a body. To the Catholic parish scouting offers a program that can easily be adjusted to Catholic needs. In order to promote scouting under Catholic auspices some dioceses have employed a full-time scout leader who works under the diocesan authorities and is in direct charge of all Catholic troops.

The Girl Scouts are endeavoring to do for the girls what the Boy Scouts do for boys. As with the Boy Scouts, the basic unit of organization is the local scout troop connected with school or Church. The Girl Scout program is also adapted to the needs of Catholic children. A number of bishops have been very much interested in promoting this program in the parishes of their dioceses.

The Catholic Boys' Brigade is an organization intended for Catholic boys. It lays particular stress on the religious development of the boy. One of the advantages of the Brigade is that it can include a larger number of boys than the scout troop. Scouting is essentially a selective program. Many diocesan authorities have taken the view that there is a place in their respective dioceses both for the scout program and the program of the Boys' Brigade. They leave it with the individual pastor to select the type of organization that appeals to him most.¹⁰

No type of recreational program can succeed without trained leadership. Many programs have come to grief in the past because they depended too much on buildings and equipment. Many Catholic parishes expended large sums of money in recreational buildings only to find them deserted in a short time because they did not have the proper leadership. The great emphasis in recreational work in recent years has been on the training of leaders. A number of universities and national organizations have developed training courses in recreational leadership. The Knights of Columbus have organized such a course of training at Notre Dame University. As a result of the emphasis on special training, recreational leadership is gradually becoming a new profession that promises to attract some of the best talent in American schools and colleges.¹¹

¹⁰ John O'Grady and Paul H. Furfey, "A Diocesan Recreational Program for Boys," *Catholic Charities Review*, May, 1927, pp. 177-181.

¹¹ Brother Barnabas, F.S.C., *Boy Guidance—a New Profession* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1924), pp. 14-20.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Does your city have a sufficient number of public playgrounds? Are they properly distributed? What provision is made for supervision of playgrounds?
2. How far does the Boy Scout program satisfy the leisure time needs of the pre-adolescent boy?
3. How far does the Girl Scout program satisfy the leisure time needs of the pre-adolescent girl?
4. What is the relationship between play and character formation?
5. What agency in your city is charged with the supervision of commercial recreation? What are the functions of this agency?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BARNABAS, BROTHER, F.S.C., *Boy Guidance—A New Profession* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Catholic University of America, 1924).
- CLEVELAND RECREATION SURVEY, *Commercial Recreation, A Study made by the Cleveland Foundation Committee*, 1920.
- CONWAY, ALICE, *Girl Scout Activities* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1925).
- COOPER, JOHN M., *Play Fair* (The Catholic Education Press, Washington, D. C., 1923).
- CURTIS, HENRY S., *Education Through Play* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1917).
- DOUGLAS, PAUL H. (and others), *The Worker in Modern Economic Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1923).
- FURFEY, PAUL H., *The Gang Age* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926).
- HENNRICH, KILIAN, O.M. Cap., *Boy Guidance* (Benziger Bros., New York, 1925).
- LEE, JOSEPH, *Play in Education* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915).
- O'CONNOR, JOHN J., *Recreation and Its Relation to Delinquency* (National Conference of Catholic Charities, Catholic University of America, 1920).
- O'GRADY, JOHN, and FURFEY, PAUL H., "A Diocesan Recreational Program for Boys," *Catholic Charities Review*, XI, May, 1927.
- PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, *The Normal Course in Play*. Practical manual for use in the training of playground directors and recreation workers prepared by the Playground and Recreation Association of America under the direction of Joseph K. Lee (A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, 1926).
- THURSTON, HENRY W., *Delinquency and Spare Time* (Cleveland Foundation Survey, 1917).

CHAPTER XX

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Necessity of Team Work.—In social work no organization can live unto itself. It must call on other organizations daily to render a multitude of services to individuals and families under its care. The results it secures will depend in large measure on how closely its services are coördinated with those of other agencies. The agency dealing with families in need of service or relief must make use of the services of the visiting nurse, of the hospital clinic and social service department, the children's agency and institution, the child welfare center, the courts, the police department, the schools, and the church. Without a mutual understanding of aims and purposes it cannot get the best out of these different agencies. Social work, therefore, demands a complete understanding on the part of each agency of the work, the viewpoint, and the methods of the other agencies of the community. It calls for a definite form of organization to bring existing agencies together and to assist them in attaining certain common objectives to which the individual organizations are unequal.

Confidential Exchange.—In developing coöperative relationships between the different agencies, the first thought was the prevention of overlapping and duplication of effort. The social service exchange is a mechanism through which the agency to which a family has applied for assistance discovers whether or not the family is already known to some other agency in the community. Of course, the effectiveness of the exchange depends very largely on the way it is used. If all the agencies of the community use the exchange, if they register each case as a matter of routine, and if they follow up the

clearings by establishing contact with agencies to which their families have already been known, the exchange will be a very effective instrument for more constructive service.

The social service exchange was first developed by the Charity Organization Society. In a number of cities the exchange is still operated by the Associated Charities or family welfare societies. In recent years there has been a general feeling that the exchange as a community-wide project should not be under the jurisdiction of any one agency. In many cities, therefore, we find that it is operated by councils of social agencies or on some other kind of copartnership basis.

It is impossible for any social agency to do justice to those under its care without using the social service exchange as a matter of routine. Recently the writer had occasion to make a study of the children received by two child-caring homes in a certain city over a period of a year. During this period children had been received from fifty-two families. On clearing the families with the exchange it was found that thirty of them were already known to other agencies of the community. These institutions had received sixty-seven children from thirty families without any reference to what had been done or was being done for them by other agencies. Much has been said in times past about registration with the confidential exchange as a betrayal of secrecy. It certainly is not much of a betrayal of secrecy to make it possible for agencies, to which a family may apply in the future, to know whether the family had already applied to other agencies. In registering a case the agency does not reveal any of the details of family life. It simply gives sufficient information to enable the exchange to identify the family if it has already been registered. The information contained in the files of the exchange is not a public record. It is open only to agencies interested in the giving of service or relief to the particular family. No family can have any reasonable objection to having its name filed in a central record when such a service is necessary in order that it may receive intelligent treatment. The clues secured through

the exchange will save the family the embarrassment of having to give the information that has already been given to other agencies.

Charity Indorsement Committees.—We frequently find in our cities certain types of organizations that use the name of charity as a means of preying on the charitably inclined public. It is to the interest of reputable organizations engaged in charity work that the public be protected against these frauds. In order to protect the public against fraudulent schemes masquerading in the name of charity, indorsement committees of one kind or another have been established in the various cities of the United States during the past three decades. The first indorsement committees were organized under the auspices of the Charity Organization Societies. In recent years the indorsement of welfare organizations has been taken over by the Chamber of Commerce in a number of cities.¹

In practice, indorsement is really a means of eliminating organizations that do not serve any useful purpose. The indorsement committee usually satisfies itself with publishing the names of indorsed organizations. The effectiveness of this action will of course depend entirely on the attitudes of the contributors to charity. As a matter of fact, very few people take the trouble of finding out whether or not an organization has been indorsed. Indorsement does not mean any reflection on the work of reputable organizations. It should help rather than hinder them. Catholic Charities have nothing to fear from inspection by a committee of representative citizens. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose from such inspection.

Increasing Importance of Team Work.—The great increase in the number and variety of agencies engaged in social work in American communities in recent years has given coöperation a new importance. Twenty years ago many of the large cities did not have more than one or two case-work agencies.

¹ Frank D. Watson, Ph.D., *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922), pp. 419-422.

In those same cities we now find a dozen or more agencies engaged in case work. New family agencies have been developed, courts have come to employ case workers in their probation work. In many places new case-work agencies have been established to deal with children's cases. The schools have employed visiting teachers to enable them to deal more successfully with their problem children. Hospitals have added medical social service departments. There has been a great increase in the number of public-health nurses. Even industry has come to employ trained social workers and trained nurses.

Another factor that has increased the importance of co-operation in recent years is the new sense of interdependence between social agencies. The general principle that no agency lives unto itself alone is truer at the present time than ever before. The social work of any city is no stronger than the weakest link in the chain of social agencies. If the children's work of a particular city is weak it is practically impossible to do good family work in that city. No case-work agency can do good case work without adequate health facilities. In a number of cities the private agencies dealing with families and children are greatly handicapped because of poor standards in the juvenile courts. Every social agency is therefore interested not only in developing closer working relations with other agencies but also in improving the general standards of social work in the community.

Councils of Social Agencies.—In order to secure better standards of social welfare in any community the different social agencies must band together. By counsel and consultation they can do much to improve the standards one of the other. No one agency can solve the problem of adequate recreational facilities. No one agency can secure adequate public health facilities. No agency acting alone can secure many of the other reforms that are necessary for the general welfare of the community.

In recent years research has assumed a very important rôle in the development of social-work programs. The modern

social agency with an objective outlook does not think of undertaking any new projects except on the basis of careful and painstaking research. While individual agencies may undertake a considerable amount of research on their own behalf, there are very many problems that must be taken up on a community-wide basis. If it is a question of studying the need of more adequate recreational and public-health facilities, of better standards in the juvenile court, of a new child labor law or a law regulating the hours of labor of women workers, the work must be undertaken on a community-wide basis.

In order to pool their experience and plan for the meeting of their common problems social agencies in American cities have organized councils of social agencies, or, as they are sometimes known, community councils. These councils are delegate bodies representing the different social agencies. Each agency is represented by two delegates, one of whom must usually be the director of the agency. In order that the council may represent as far as possible the various interests in the city, provision is made for the election of a number of members at large. Since the council is essentially a federation of agencies, the members at large constitute only a small minority of its membership.²

The central council of social agencies carries on a large part of its work through standing and special committees. These committees give workers in different departments of social work opportunities for conference and joint study and planning. The Denver Council has the following standing committees: family welfare, child welfare, health, recreation, employment, boys' work council, girls' work council. The Washington Council has committees on family welfare, child welfare, health, and recreation. Special committees are appointed from time to time by all councils to study problems of interest to all the participating agencies.

² Jesse Frederick Steiner, *Community Organization* (The Century Co., New York, 1925), p. 172.

Unless properly safeguarded, standing committees of social agencies are liable to drift apart from the main body of the council, to develop a more or less independent existence and to assume executive responsibilities. They are liable moreover to fritter away the time of workers in useless and never-ending debates. At the beginning of the year the standing committees of councils of social agencies outline for themselves definite programs with a view to assisting the participating agencies in meeting their most immediate and pressing problems. The council must always keep in mind that the social worker's first and most important duty is toward his own position. It must be on its guard lest it interfere unnecessarily with the worker's discharge of his own immediate responsibilities.

A number of councils of social agencies have taken over administrative responsibilities. The Chicago Council operates the social service exchange and has brought twelve agencies together in one office building.³ The Boston Council operates a joint purchasing bureau for its member agencies.

Community Chest Movement.—Within the past ten years there has been a great increase in the demand for service and relief in American communities. In order to meet this increased demand social and charitable agencies have had to expand their activities. How far the increased demand for the services of the social and charitable agency has been due to the widening vision of the social worker or to the growing volume of human needs, it is not easy to say. Each of these factors has undoubtedly played an important part in the situation. We have a better appreciation of the need of the poor than ever before. By more systematic organization we have been able to discover a great many needs that heretofore were permitted to pass unnoticed. Industrial changes and business depressions have compelled a greater number of people to look to social organizations for assistance.

³ Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *The Financing of Social Agencies* (1924), p. 28.

In order to meet the increased demands made upon them, social agencies were compelled to devise improved methods of financing their work. The old methods of individual appeal and mail canvass were found wanting. Before the World War a number of cities in the middle west, including Cleveland and Cincinnati, had formed financial federations or community chests for the purpose of raising in one annual campaign, all the funds necessary to meet the annual operating expenses of the social agencies in those cities. The War gave a great impetus to the financial federation or community chest movement. In a number of cities the war chests also took care of the needs of local welfare organizations. So successful were the war-time joint appeals that the social workers and business leaders in many cities decided to continue the same organizations as means of financing the peace-time activities of their agencies.

The financial federation movement has made very rapid progress in the United States in a relatively short period of time. In 1916 sixteen cities had established financial federations of one kind or another. In 1920 there were about fifty community chest organizations in the country; in 1921 about 80; in 1922 about 100; in 1924 about 150; and at present there are about 300.⁴

Types of Community Chests.—There are community chests which have been organized mainly by social agencies and there are chests which have been organized almost entirely by business groups. When a chest finds its leadership in the social-work group it naturally gives a considerable amount of thought and attention to the improvement of the standards of social service in the community. On the other hand, when it is led by the business group it is liable to feel that its only task is the raising of funds. It is now recognized on all hands that the community chest organization needs the influence and the viewpoints of both the social worker and the business man.

⁴ Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *The Financing of Social Agencies* (1924), pp. 28, 118, 119. Allen T. Burns, "Every Man's Chest," *Survey*, vol. LIX November, 15, 1927.

It needs the social worker in order to give it a proper understanding of the problems confronting the various agencies, and it needs the business man in order that he may bring to it the experience of the business community and supply the leadership necessary for the raising of adequate funds. It needs the business man, moreover, in order that it may give him a better appreciation of the sufferings of the poor and the handicapped. It needs the business man above all in order that it may give him a better appreciation of the limitations of the present industrial system of which he is a part. After all, if the community chest or any other social movement merely gives him an opportunity of applying a little salve to the great festering wounds of society, it may do more harm than good. It is a great mistake for a community chest to look for its lay leadership in any one community group. It is only when it gives proper representation to all classes that it can be cleared of any possible suspicion of being operated in the interest of any one class. A community chest is a marshaling of the forces of all the organizations of a community for the purpose of raising in one annual appeal all the funds necessary for the maintenance of these organizations. Through its budget committee the chest passes on the budgets of the different organizations. This committee usually consists of representatives both of the agencies and of the givers. It is really the most important committee of the chest organization.

One of the principal considerations that drove the business man into the chest was the possibility of bulking his giving in one annual contribution. The so-called immunity argument was used with very telling effect in the early days of the chest movement. The argument, however, has almost entirely spent its force and community chest leaders are no longer inclined to stress it.

Community Chest Results.—Financial federation has increased very greatly the number of contributors as well as the total amount contributed to social work in American cities. The per capita contribution to social work in Boston, a non-

chest city, according to a recent report of its Chamber of Commerce, amounts to two dollars and thirty-five cents, as compared with four dollars per capita in chest cities like Scranton, Cleveland, and San Francisco. In their last chest campaigns, Rochester and Cincinnati raised four dollars and sixty cents and four dollars and seventy-five cents per capita respectively.⁵ Before the establishment of its financial federation in 1915, Cleveland had some 3,000 contributors to its charities. At the present time it has about 300,000 contributors to charity. In Cincinnati the number of givers was increased from 8,000 in 1915 to 75,000 in 1922. In Detroit the number was increased from 8,000 in 1915 to 117,000 in 1922.⁶ In Rochester the amount received by St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum was increased from \$4,701 in 1917 to \$13,166 in 1921. The amounts received by St. Mary's Boys Orphan Asylum and St. Patrick's Girls Orphan Asylum were increased from \$9,386 to \$36,625 and from \$5,967 to \$26,286 respectively, in the same period.⁷

Financial federation means greater economy in the raising of funds. Under the method of individual appeals by different agencies the cost of raising funds ranged around fifteen per cent. Under federation the cost averages from five to six per cent of the total amount collected.

Central financing has effected a number of worth-while economies by operating central purchasing departments and central office buildings for the constituent agencies. One of the aspects of central financing to which great importance has been attached is its influence on the development and standards of social work. The federation has exceptional opportunities for the development of joint planning and coördinating the work of the participating agencies. The turning over to a central body of the collection and distribution of the funds

⁵ "Every Man's Chest," *Survey Graphic*, vol. LIX, November 15, 1927, p. 140.

⁶ W. Frank Persons, *Central Financing of Social Agencies* (Columbus Advisory Council, Stoneman Press, 1922), p. 128.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

necessary for the maintenance of all the social agencies of the community is, however, not without its disadvantages.

Limitations of Community Chests.—One of the most serious difficulties of financial federation is that it makes pioneering in social work exceedingly difficult. The chest is a majority organization and is therefore governed largely by majority rule. Some of the best contributions to social work in the past have been made by minority groups. As a rule it is more difficult for any group to develop a new agency in a chest than in a non-chest city.

Another disadvantage of the federation is that it severs the attachment between givers and the individual agencies. Some of the most generous givers to community chests at the present time are persons who were attached to particular agencies. It remains to be seen whether the new generation of givers who have to give to a community-wide movement will be as generous as the generation that is passing. It is rather doubtful whether a community-wide project can arouse the same interest in the ordinary giver as the particular agency to which he has long been attached, especially if this agency appeals to him on a religious basis. Many persons fear that financial federation will mean too great a degree of centralized control in charity work. "Sooner or later," says Mr. Stockton Raymond, "in every federated city the test is sure to come, leading either to the dissolution of the federation or its assertion of control over the acts of the individual agencies. As a plain matter of fact the federation cannot possibly avoid using the power of the dollar."⁸ On the other hand, Mr. C. M. Bookman, director of the Cincinnati Community Chest, says, "However socially minded individuals may be no small group can do the social thinking for a community and no small group can long maintain the hearty coöperation of the social forces of a community unless those forces feel themselves to be necessary in formulating as well

⁸ Raymond Stockton, *Financial Federation and Social Work* (Miss M. Curtis, 28 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass., 1923).

as in executing social programs.”⁹ The degree to which a federation asserts its control will depend to some extent on the attitude of the federation itself and on the groups with which it deals. Some federations have been exceedingly careful in using centralized control. Others have gone so far as to deprive agencies of much of their autonomy. Federations as a rule proceed very carefully in asserting control over strong and well-organized agencies.

The fear has been expressed by some that under federation social work will become a business man's institution and thus sacrifice its reform outlook. The moment, it is claimed, that social work loses its interest in the improvement of social conditions it will lose the confidence of the masses and will cease to be a vital force in the community.¹⁰

Catholic Organizations and Community Chests.—In most cities Catholic organizations participate in financial federations. In a number of large cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark, Providence, Buffalo, and St. Louis, Catholic organizations do not participate. In the larger cities in which Catholic organizations are strong and well-established they have not as a rule been inclined to participate in community-wide financial federations. They have felt that participation in the federation would mean a lessening of interest on the part of Catholics in their own work. The testimony of Catholic organizations that have participated in chests has on the whole been quite favorable. This is especially true of the religious communities in charge of Catholic institutions. They feel that the chest has relieved them of a large responsibility. It gives them more time for their own work and enables them to secure higher standards in their institutions. Before the coming of the chest, Catholic institutions in a great many cities were grossly under-financed. They could not do many of the things they wanted to do because of the lack of funds. Many bishops

⁹ Quoted by W. Frank Persons, *Central Financing of Social Agencies* (Columbus Advisory Council, Stoneman Press, 1922), p. 259.

¹⁰ John M. Cooper, "Is Class-Control Hobbliing Charity?" *Catholic Charities Review*, vol. XI, February, 1927.

have stated to the writer that they could not secure in any other way the amount of money they receive from the chest.

The participation by Catholics in community chests will be determined by a great many local considerations. If they are doubtful about the success of the chest, do not have confidence in its leadership, and have developed effective methods of financing Catholic agencies, they will not be inclined to participate.

There is a growing feeling among leaders in Catholic charities that the only alternative to chest participation for Catholics is a financial federation of Catholic agencies. In Buffalo and Toronto there are complete financial federations of all the Catholic charities of these two dioceses. All the operating expenses of the Catholic charitable institutions and organizations in these dioceses are raised in one annual appeal. Providence also has the equivalent of a Catholic federation. The Archdioceses of New York and Chicago conduct annual campaigns to raise the funds necessary for certain of their more important social and charitable activities.

Origin of Settlement Movement.—One of the outstanding results of the industrial revolution has been the separation of the wealthy from the wage-earning groups in our cities. The wealthy have few opportunities of coming into personal contact with wage-earners. Students of social conditions have long since felt that this separation and isolation of classes in our cities creates mutual suspicion and distrust. As a means of bridging over the separation between the wealthy and the less fortunately situated groups in industrial communities, Canon Barrett, a clergyman of the Church of England, conceived the idea in 1883 of having a number of Oxford students live in the poor parts of London. The house in which they took up their residence was later named Toynbee Hall in memory of Arnold Toynbee who had been the most outstanding member of the group. This was really the beginning of what is known as the settlement movement. The American pioneers in settlement work were inspired largely by what had been

done in Toynbee Hall. But when the movement got under way in the United States it very naturally took on local coloring. In fact, no two settlements were exactly alike. Each settlement grew out of definite local situations and was fashioned out of the thinking of leaders with peculiar genius and training.

Problems Confronting Early Settlements.—The settlement movement represents an effort on the part of persons with superior endowments in the way of wealth and culture to give themselves to others who are not so endowed. Leaders in settlement work have felt that in order to help the masses intelligently it was necessary to live among them, to study them, to get a first-hand view of their family life and their activities outside of their homes. When the settlement pioneers first found their way into the neglected poorer sections of American cities they unearthed many situations that aroused their sympathy and their indignation. They found that the great masses of people who had been brought together in those sections had no facilities for wholesome play. Unregulated commercial recreation was exposing the young to all kinds of vicious influences. The settlement leaders found that the health facilities of the poorer sections of our cities were wholly inadequate and that such facilities as existed were not within easy reach of the poor. Many times the municipal health departments did not have the necessary facilities or were careless about the enforcement of ordinances in regard to housing and sanitation.

Many of the poorer sections of American cities were peopled by immigrants who had brought over with them the ideals and culture of their mother countries. They were too liable to get their first impressions from designing American persons who were ready to profit by their handicaps. Their children were in danger of losing all that was best in the old civilization, without being able to profit by what the land of their adoption had to offer. This presented a serious challenge to the settlement workers. Many of them had a deep appreciation of the artistic and cultural background of the

immigrant. They were keenly conscious of the possibilities of blending the best in the old civilizations of Europe with the new civilization of America.

The worst by-products of the industrial revolution appeared in the poorer districts of the cities. Children went into the factories with minds and bodies insufficiently developed and were compelled to work for unduly long hours and under conditions detrimental to their health and morals. The mothers were compelled to go out to work and thus deprived the children of the care so necessary for their well-being. Both mothers and children had to work in order to supplement the meager income of the father. While the increased income brought in by the mother and children added somewhat to the physical well-being of the family, it meant large losses in the education and training of the children.

Settlements as Fact-Finding Agencies.—The settlement pioneers did not offer any general panacea for the conditions they found in the neglected sections of American cities. The best that they hoped for was that their first-hand contact with the facts would give them an excellent opportunity of educating the public with regard to conditions as they found them. This was the first step toward any reform. These settlements did not expect to become scientific fact-finding bodies, although they initiated and conducted many important studies of local conditions. The main contribution to social research consisted in so arousing the public as to get municipal, state and national agencies to conduct detailed and comprehensive investigations of local conditions. In their early campaigns for child labor and other forms of legislation the settlements in the beginning found themselves quite handicapped by lack of adequate information. The following is an interesting illustration of the methods followed by settlements in securing information on social and industrial conditions and using this information for the education of the public. "Mrs. Florence Kelly suggested to the Illinois Bureau of Labor through its chief the need of investigating the sweated industries of the

state. She was asked to direct the inquiry authorized as a result of her request. The campaign of publicity which followed the presentation of her report to the legislature enabled residents of Hull House, with the help of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, to secure the passage in July, 1893, of the first comprehensive Illinois factory act. This law separated homes from shops and limited working hours of women to eight a day."¹¹ Settlement leaders allied themselves very closely with labor organizations, particularly organizations of women workers. The Women's Trade Union League was organized very largely through persons connected with the different settlements. Many of the most outstanding leaders in the child-labor movement and the movement for securing shorter hours of labor, living wages and reasonable working conditions, received their training and experience in settlements.

Objectives in Settlement Work.—The fundamental objective of the settlements has been to get the normal agencies of the community to render more effective service to the weaker classes. In the rapidly changing conditions of city life it is difficult to have institutions keep pace with growing needs. Health facilities which were adequate for a city of one hundred thousand are entirely inadequate when the population of the same city has within a short space increased to two hundred thousand. Individual initiative might easily have taken care of all the recreational needs of a city with a small and scattered population, but after it has doubled or quadrupled and large vacant spaces have disappeared, it is necessary for the city government and private organizations to plan systematic recreational programs.

The settlements found that educational facilities as well as the facilities for health and recreation were not keeping pace with the rapidly increasing industrial populations. It was evident that the schools would have to reckon more and more

¹¹ Robert A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy, *The Settlement Horizon* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922), p. 179.

with problems of pre-vocational, vocational, and civic education if they were to meet the needs of the wage-earning masses.

While settlements were paving the way for larger health, educational, and recreational programs on the part of public and private agencies, they developed a great many health, recreational, and educational projects in their own behalf, partly with a view to satisfying existing needs and partly to demonstrate the need and feasibility of such projects. Therefore it is that we find settlements organizing visiting nursing service, child welfare centers, general clinics, playgrounds, athletics, kindergarten classes, courses in citizenship and vocational education.

Settlements and Catholic Parishes.—Many Catholic parishes in industrial sections of the various cities have not taken too kindly to the work of settlements. Catholic priests have found it difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between the settlements and the various Protestant Church Missions. They found that Protestant Missions offered all kinds of attractions to Catholic children in order to draw them away from their own Church.

The settlements, it must be said in all justice, have on the whole made a genuine effort to meet this situation. They have endeavored to do so by excluding all religious teaching from their programs. They have tried to work out community programs without any reference to religion. Even this approach is not without its serious difficulties from the standpoint of the Church. The settlement program without religion is all right so far as it goes, but it is at best an incomplete program. On the other hand, it must be recognized that a great many Catholic children will continue to participate in settlement activities. A number of settlement leaders are entirely agreeable to some plan of attaching these children more closely to their parish. They are also willing to discuss the possibility of having the settlement make a definite contribution toward the development of parish recreational programs. The Cath-

olic pastor to-day cannot stand aloof and criticize the settlement while doing nothing toward the development of a parish recreational program. In spite of his criticism the children of his parish will continue to participate in settlement activities.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Study the constitution and by-laws of the Council of Social Agencies of your city. What have been the specific achievements of the Council during the past year?

2. What are the arguments for Catholic participation in Community Chest? What are the arguments against Catholic participation?

3. Study the program of a settlement with special reference to its relations to other agencies in the same neighborhood.

4. What are some of the reasons why social work requires close coöperation between the different agencies of a community?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BURNS, ALLEN T., "Every Man's Chest," *Survey Graphic*, LIX (1927), No. 3.
- CHAPIN, STUART A., *Field Work and Social Research* (The Century Co., New York, 1920).
- CHICAGO COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES, *The Financing of Social Agencies*, 1924.
- COOPER, JOHN M., "Is Class Control Hobbling Charity?" *Catholic Charities Review*, Vol. XI (1927), No. 2.
- ELMER, M. C., *Social Statistics* (Statistical Methods Applied to Sociology, Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles, 1926).
- McCLENAHAN, BESSIE A., *Organizing the Community* (The Century Co., New York, 1922).
- PERSONS, W. FRANK, *Central Financing of Social Agencies* (Columbus Advisory Council, Stoneman Press, 1922).
- SCHUCK, ARTHUR A., and PROCTOR, ARTHUR W., *The Financing of Social Work* (A. W. Shaw Co., Chicago, 1926).
- STEINER, JESSE FREDERICK, *Community Organization* (The Century Co., New York, 1925).
- STOCKTON, RAYMOND, *Financial Federation and Social Work* (Miss M. Curtis, 28 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass., 1923).
- WATSON, FRANK D., *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922).
- WOODS, ROBERT A., and KENNEDY, ALBERT J., *The Settlement Horizon*. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922).

INDEX

- Abbott, Edith, 160
- Aged, care of the, 292; private institutions for, 257; public institutions for, 256; state aid for, 254
- Agencies, councils of social, 375; public and non-sectarian, relations of, to Catholic family service, 301
- Allowances, family, 227
- Almshouses, improved standards in, 349
- American Association for Organizing Family Work, 339
- American Institute of Park Executives, 339, 368
- American trade unions, 238; and old age pensions, 255
- Analysis of definition of social case work, 56
- Andrews, John B., 229
- Appeal of the children's agency, 112
- Associated Catholic Charities of New Orleans, 312
- Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 254
- Barnabas, Brother, 370
- Basis of charity, 3
- Basis of public health program, 195
- Beginnings of diocesan programs of child care, 295
- Belden, Evelina, 138
- Better health facilities, Ch. X
- Beyer, W. C., 221
- Bookman, C. M., 381
- Boy Scouts of America, 369
- Breckinridge, Sophonisba, 152, 160
- Bridging school and home, 327
- British Insurance Act of 1920, 249
- Bronner, Augusta F., 154, 155, 156
- Brown, Percy T., 249
- Burt, Cyril, 159, 160, 162
- Care of the sick, 291; of the feeble-minded, 342
- Careful study of juvenile offenders necessary for effective treatment, 146
- Catholic Boys' Brigade, 369, 370
- Catholic Charities Review*, 314
- Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 119, 127
- Catholic Charitable Bureau of Boston, 295
- Catholic Charities of Washington, D. C., 311, 312
- Catholic Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y., 310
- Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, 119, 310
- Catholic child care in the United States, volume of, 288
- Catholic Charities of Cleveland, Ohio, 310
- Catholic Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, 311
- Catholic Family Service, 300; and the parish, 302; relations to public and non-sectarian agencies, 301
- Catholic Home Bureau of New York, 295
- Catholic organizations and community chests, 382
- Catholic parishes and settlements, 387
- Catholic settlements, 289

- Catholic University, 314; department of sociology, 315
- Catholic Welfare Bureau of Los Angeles, 119
- Catholic Women's League of Detroit, 287, 289
- Central Diocesan Organizations of Catholic Charities, development of, 296; programs of, 299
- Chamberlain-Kahn Act, 202, 203
- Changing emphasis in social work, 11
- Chapin, Dr. R. C., 220, 221
- Charity Organization Society, 82, 83, 84
- Charity, and human inequalities, 5; and justice, 6; and social work, 9; and the teaching of Christ, 281; in the middle ages, 334
- Charity Indorsement Committees, 374
- Charity work, parish organizations for, 284
- Chicago Council of Social Agencies, 377
- Child care, in the United States, volume of Catholic, 288; beginnings of diocesan programs, 295
- Child caring programs, diocesan, 303
- Child, dependent, 87; dependent and neglected, Ch. V; in the criminal courts, 136; neglected, 89; removal from home, 113
- Child labor and the school, 322
- Child labor legislation, 230
- Child placing agency, function of, 128
- Children, delinquent, 14; foster care of, Ch. VI; needing special care, 86; show evidences of neglect, 33
- Children's, agency, appeal of, 112; agency takes the place of parents, 115; Cleveland Bureau, 118; Colorado Aid Society, 118; Federal Bureau, 28, 96, 126, 138, 198, 206; institutions, types of, 120
- Child training and parental cooperation, 91
- Child welfare, 13
- Christ Child Society of Washington, 289
- Christian family, 45
- Church and charity, 7; and leisure time, 310; and social work, 18, Chs. XIV, XV; as a preventive agency, 165; as a source, 60
- Cincinnati community chest, 381
- City, and county jails, 188
- City and leisure time, 364
- Civic training and the school, 320
- Clark, Lindley D., 273
- Codex Canon Law, 39
- Collective bargaining, labor organizations for, 224
- Collection of social evidence for diagnosis of problems, 56
- Commercial recreation, 365
- Commons, John R., 229
- Communicable diseases, reporting, 196
- Community chest, and Catholic organizations, 382; limitations of, 381; results, 379; types of, 378
- Community organization, 22, Ch. XX
- Community program for neglected childhood, 107
- Compulsory health insurance, 242
- Compulsory physical training, 369
- Confidential exchange, use of, 60, 372
- Conference on Child Welfare, 96
- Continuation schools and vocational advisement, 323
- Control of venereal diseases, 202
- Cooley, Edwin J., 168, 177, 190, 191

- Cooper, Dr. John M., 204
- Cost of sickness, 210
- Councils of social Agencies, 375
- Crime, definition of, and responsibility for, 171; deterrence of, 182; expiation for, 180; forces in operation against, 172; individual approach to the study of, 176; interest in, 170; main objectives in treatment of, 180; social treatment of, 15, 170
- Criminal, reformation of, 181
- Criminal statistics, 177
- Cronin, Michael, 172
- Davis, Michael M., 211
- Davis, Rebekah P., 221
- Day-nursery, 102
- Debt claims, 268
- Defective mentality and juvenile delinquency, 161
- Definition, of social case work, 55; of, and responsibility for crime, 171
- Delinquent child, 14
- Delinquency and leisure time, 364
- Dennison Manufacturing Company, 249
- Denver Council of Social Agencies, 376
- Dependent child, 87
- Dependent and neglected child, Ch. V; home care for, 95
- Desertion and non-support, 43
- Development, of Catholic child-caring institutions, 287; of central diocesan organizations of Catholic charities, 296; of social case work, 81; of state penitentiaries, 184
- Devine, Dr., 270
- Diocesan programs of child care, beginnings of, 295
- Diagnosis, of problems, collection of social evidence for, 56; general outside sources leading to, 63
- Difficulty of regularizing employment, 247
- Diocesan child-caring programs, 303
- Diocesan Agencies of Catholic Charities: Archdiocese of Baltimore, 311, 312; Archdiocese of Boston, 295, 312; Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 119, 127, 310, 311, 312; Archdiocese of Los Angeles, 119; Archdiocese of New Orleans, 312; Archdiocese of New York, 119, 310; Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 311; Archdiocese of St. Louis, 127, 212; Diocese of Brooklyn, 310; Diocese of Cleveland, 310; Diocese of Hartford, 295; Diocese of Newark, 312
- Disabilities, economic of the wage-earner, Chs. XI, XII
- Distribution of public playgrounds, 368
- Divorce in the United States, 40
- Divorce courts, socialized, 42
- Documentary sources, 76
- Domestic difficulties, 270
- Domestic relations courts, 274
- Doran, Mary S., 130
- Douglas, Dorothy W., 218, 221
- Douglas, Paul H., 220, 228
- Early settlements, problems confronting, 384
- Economic difficulties of the poor, 217
- Economic disabilities of wage-earner, Chs. XI, XII
- Economic independence and home, 30
- Education, and leisure time, 365; for handicapped children, 325; in children's institutions, 125; of the public, 168
- Elmira Reformatory, 185
- Emerson, Dr. Haven, 208, 209
- Employers, as sources, 68; and health, 241

- Employment, agencies, 245; difficulty of regularizing, 247
- Employment of women and children, and machinery, 26; and home life, 27
- English Poor Law, 335
- Epstein, A., 252
- Ephesians* V., 4, 46
- Evening school and the part-time school, 325
- Expiation for crime, 180
- Facilities for the study of children, 117
- Factors, in juvenile delinquency, 158; in parental failure, 30; in the success and failure of juvenile offenders, Ch. VIII
- Failure of law to keep pace with human needs, 264
- Family allowances, 227
- Family, and industrial revolution, 25; and social case work, Chs. III, IV
- Family life, modern, Ch. II; means continuous sacrifice, 36
- Family Service, Catholic, 300
- Family welfare, 12
- Feeble-minded, care of, 342
- Federal, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 211, 239; Census Bureau, 39, 40, 117, 179, 180, 347; Children's Bureau, 28, 96, 126, 128, 198, 206; Commission on Industrial Relations, 238; Public Health Service, 206, 210
- Fenwick Club in Cincinnati, 311
- First interview, 59
- Forces in operation against crime, 172
- Fordham University School, 315
- Fosdick, Raymond B., 178
- Foster care of children, Ch. VI; foster home and institution, 116; foster home care, 129
- Frankel, Emil, 336, 339
- Free competition poor determinate of wage rates, 222
- Functions of the hospital, 206
- Function of: child placing agency, 128; trained social worker, 52
- Furfey, Dr. Paul H., 368, 370
- Gallatians* III., 4
- General outside sources leading to diagnosis, 63
- Gillin, John Lewis, 171, 183, 336
- Girl Scouts of America, 370
- Goddard, Dr., 161
- Good Samaritan Hospital of Cincinnati, 119
- Group plan in congregate institutions, 121
- Haas, Dr. Francis J., 249
- Hall, Fred S., 39, 42, 203
- Handicapped children, education for, 325
- Hart, Hornell, 245
- Hart, Hastings, 354
- Health, and employers, 241; and the school, 317; compulsory insurance, 242; diocesan programs, 309; education, 197; in children's institutions, 123; interest in, 195; rural, 206
- Health and Old Age Insurance Commission of Ohio*, 238, 251, 252
- Health programs, diocesan, 309
- Healy, Wm., 154-164
- Hearings, special for children's cases, 137
- Heredity and juvenile delinquency, 158
- Hills, Brothers, New York, 249
- Home, bridging it and school, 327; conservation of, 11; economic independence, 38; juvenile delinquency, 163; leisure time, 366; recreation, 29; training function of, more important, 30

- Home care for the dependent and neglected child, 95
- Home life, and employment of women and children, 27; and neighborhood, 29
- Hood Rubber Company, 249
- Hospital, functions of, 206; social service, 212
- Hours of labor, 229
- Human needs, failure of law to keep pace with, 264
- Ill-health, as a factor in poverty, 237; protection against, 238
- Improved standards in almshouses, 349
- Income, and security, 17; two ways of increasing, 223
- Increasing importance of team work, 374
- Indeterminate sentence, 186
- Individual approach to the study of crime, 176
- Industry and leisure time, 362
- Industrial hazards, security against, 232
- Industrial revolution and family, 25
- Infancy and maternity hygiene, 198
- Insane, The, 344
- Institutions, and foster home, 116; development of Catholic child-caring, 287; group plan in congregate, 121; special, for juvenile offenders, 136; types of children's, 120
- Insurance, British Act of 1920, 249; health, 242; unemployment, in the United States, 248
- Interest, in crime, 170; in health, 195
- International Health Board, 206
- Interview, first, 59
- Irish system in penitentiaries, 185
- John, St., 4
- Justice, and charity, 6; and the poor, 18
- Juvenile Court, and community, 148; and the church, 148; and the police department, 144; and the school, 149; and the volunteer, 149; hearing, 145; its development and methods, 138, 139, Ch. VII; jurisdiction, 140; procedure, 143
- Juvenile delinquency, and defective mentality, 161; and early habit formation, 154; and heredity, 158; and the home, 163; and poverty, 160; factors in, 158
- Kerby, Rev. Dr. Wm. J., 8, 314, 359
- Knights of Columbus, 370
- Labor organization for collective bargaining, 224
- Lack of moral responsibility, 36
- Ladies of Charity, 286, 289
- Lauch, W. J., 219
- Leeds and Northrup Company, Philadelphia, 249
- Legal counsel for the poor, 276
- Legal regulation of wages, what it has done, 225
- Legislation, child labor, 230; mothers' aid, 96; old age, progress of, in the United States, 297; protective for children, 105; workmen's compensation, 233
- Leisure time, 21; and church, 310, 336; and city, 364; and delinquency, 364; and education, 365; and the home, 366; and industry, 362, Ch. XIX; national organizations interested in, 369
- Lenroot, Katherine, 142
- Leo XIII, Pope, *Great Encyclical Letters*, 7, 223, 282

- Limitations of community chests, 381
 Living, minimum standards of, 220
 Local unions and health, 239
 Loyola University, 315
 Luke, St., 37, 94, 182
 Lundberg, Emma O., 97, 142

 McEntegart, Rev. Bryan J., 305
 Machinery and employment of women and children, 26
 Main objectives in treatment of crime, 180
 Major difficulties of poor before the law, 266
 Many parents unconscious of dangers to child life, 31
 Mark, St., 94
 Marriage, preparation for, 37
 Massachusetts General Hospital, 213
 Maternity Center Association, 199
 Matthew, St., 3, 4, 7, 37, 223
 Means for securing justice for poor, 273
 Medical sources, 72
 Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 238
 Middle ages, charity in, 334
 Minimum standards of living, 220
 Minimum Wage Commission of the District of Columbia, 218
 Minimum Wage Movement in the United States, 226
 Modern family life, Ch. II
 Mothers' aid, legislation, 96; administration of, 100
 Mulry, Thomas M., 354
 Murphy, Prentice J., 111
 Murray, Raymond W., 143

 National, Catholic Service School, 315; Catholic Welfare Conference, 314; Conference of Catholic Charities, 313, 314; Council of Catholic Women, 315; Industrial Conference Board, 220; organizations interested in leisure time, 369; outlook in Catholic charities, 313
 Necessity of team work, 372
 Needs of normal childhood, 93
 Need of organization at present time, 7
 Neglect, children show evidences of, 33
 Neglected child, 89; community program for, 107; types of, 90
 Neighborhood, and home life, 29; sources, 69
 Nesbitt, Florence, 97, 98, 100
 New functions of state, 174
 New York, Manufacturers' Association, 254; State Commission, to examine laws relating to Child Welfare, 87
 Non-sectarian and public agencies, relations of, to Catholic family Service, 301
 Normal childhood, needs of, 93
 Nursing, public health, 204

 Objectives in settlement work, 386; in social work, Ch. I
 Ogburn, Dr. Wm. F., 220
 Old age, pensions and American trade unions, 255; private pensions, 253; problems of, 250
 Oppenheimer, J. J., 331
 Organized programs for service, 9
 Organization, need of, at present time, 7
 Organizations of Catholic women, 286
 Origin of settlement movement, 383
 Outdoor relief in the United States, 336
 Outings, summer, 306
 Outlook, of American social work, 12; of social work, 22
 Ozanam, Frederick, 82

 Parent-Teachers Association, 167
 Parents, many unconscious of

- dangers to child life, 31; who are too rigid, 33
- Parental coöperation and child training, 91
- Parental failure, factors in, 34
- Parish, and Catholic Family Service, 301; and settlements, 387; organizations for charity work, 284; unit in Catholic charities, 312
- Parole, 187
- Parsons, P. A., 169
- Part-time school and the evening school, 325
- Pattison, Dr. H. A., 201
- Payment of rent, 269
- Penal farms, 189
- Penitentiaries, Auburn system, 184; development of state, 184; indeterminate sentence to, 186; Irish system, 185; parole from, 187; penal farms, 189; Pennsylvania system, 184
- Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, 252
- Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, 221
- Phillips, Anna, C., 208, 209
- Physical defects and delinquency, 162
- Physical training, compulsory, 369
- Pioneer work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, 293
- Playground and Recreation Association of America, 371
- Poor and the law, Ch. XIII
- Poor, before the law, major difficulties of, 266; legal counsel for, 276; means for securing justice for, 273
- Poorhouse, 341
- Poverty, and juvenile delinquency, 160; ill-health as a factor in, 237
- Preparation for marriage, 37
- Pre-vocational courses, 324
- Priest, and social work, 283; as social worker, 49
- Private initiative and state, 357
- Private institutions for aged, 257
- Private old age pensions, 253
- Probation, 189
- Problems, confronting early settlements, 384; discussed in this book, 12; of old age, 250; outside province of ordinary community agencies, 51
- Processes of social case work, 49
- Procter and Gamble company of Chicago, 249
- Programs, diocesan child caring, 307; diocesan health, 309; of central diocesan agencies of Catholic Charities, 299
- Progress of old age legislation in the United States, 257
- Protection against ill-health, 238
- Protective care, 307
- Protective legislation for children, 105
- Public and non-sectarian agencies, relations of, to Catholic Family Service, 301
- Public and private agencies, recreation in, 366
- Public boards and commissions, 275
- Public health nursing, 204
- Public health program, basis of, 195
- Public institutions for aged, 256
- Public playgrounds, distribution of, 368
- Public welfare, 20; in the United States, Ch. XVIII
- Raymond, Stockton, 381
- Records in children's institutions, 127
- Recreation, and delinquency, 151; and home, 29; and the school, 319; as a public function, 367; commercial, 365; in children's

- institutions, 126; public and private agencies in, 366
- Reformation of criminal, 181
- Reformative influence of religion, 192.
- Relations of Catholic Family Service to public and non-sectarian agencies, 301
- Relatives as sources, 64
- Relief administration on a budgetary basis, 78
- Religion, reformative influence of, 188
- Religious training of children, 124
- Removal of child from home, 113
- Rent, payment of, 269
- Reporting communicable diseases, 196
- Reynolds, Bertha C., 130
- Richardson, Dr. A. M., 214
- Richmond, Mary, E., 39, 42, 72, 73
- Roosevelt, President, 95
- Rural health, 206
- Ryan, Dr. John A., 227, 261
- School and child labor, 322; and civic training, 320; and health, 317; as a social agency, 20, Ch. XVI; as source, 73; bridging it and home, 327
- School community centers, 368
- Security against industrial hazards, 232
- Service, Catholic Family, 300; Catholic family, relations of, to public and non-sectarian agencies, 301; hospital social, 212
- Settlements, and Catholic parishes, 387; as fact-finding agencies, 385; movement, origin of, 383; objectives in work of, 386; problems confronting early, 384
- Sheppard-Towner Law, 199
- Shultz, Wm. J., 106
- Sick, care of the, 291, 346
- Sickness, cost of, 210
- Siedenburg, Father, S.J., 315
- Sisterhoods, Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Philadelphia, 289; Sisters of the Holy Family of San Francisco, 289; Sisters of the Most Blessed Trinity, Cottonton, Alabama, 289; Mission Helpers of the Holy Souls in Purgatory in New York, St. Louis and San Francisco, 289, 292; Daughters of the Holy Ghost in Fall River and Providence, 291; Dominican Sisters of the Sick Poor in New York, Columbus, Cincinnati and Denver, 291; Little Sisters of the Assumption in New York and Philadelphia, 291; Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart in Baltimore and New York, 291; Nursing Sisters of the Sick Poor in Brooklyn, 291; Poor Handmaids of the Sacred Heart in Chicago, 291; Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in New York, 291; Bon Secours in Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, New York and Philadelphia, 291; Sisters of Charity, Grey Nuns in Lawrence, Mass., 291; Sisters of Divine Saviour in Milwaukee, 291; Little Company of Mary in Chicago, 291; Sisters of Our Lady of Christian Doctrine in New York City, 291; Sister Servants of Mary in Kansas and New Orleans, La., 292; Society of the Infant Jesus in Brooklyn, N. Y., 292
- Sisters' Conference, 314
- Shahan, Bishop, 314
- Slingerland, W. H., 128
- Small Claims Courts, 273
- Smith, Reginald Heber, 266, 267, 273, 277

- Snedden, David, 324
 Snow, Dr. Wm. T., 202
 Social case records, 79; in institutions, 127
 Social case work, and family, Chs. III, IV; and hospital, 212; definition of, 55; development of, 81; processes of, 49; technique of, 58
 Society of St. Vincent de Paul, 80, 81, 284, 285, 286, 293, 295, 296; of Detroit, 119; of St. Louis, 127; pioneer work of, 293
 Social work, and charity, 9; and the Church, 18, 282; and health, 16; and the priest, 283; changing emphasis in, 11; outlook of, 22; outlook of American, 12; private and state, 352
 Social treatment of crime, 15, Ch. IX
 Social workers, function of trained, 52
 Socialized, divorce courts, 42; health agency, 167
 Sources, church as, 66; documentary, 76; employers as, 68; general outside, leading to diagnosis, 63; medical, 72; neighborhood, 69; relatives as, 64; schools, 73
 Spalding, Warren I., 171
 Special hearings for children's cases, 137
 Special institutions for juvenile offenders, 136
 State aid for the aged, 254
 State public welfare agencies, types of, 355
 State, and private initiative, 357; and private social work, 352; welfare functions of, 351
 Statistics, criminal, 177; unemployment, 244; vital, 196; wage, in United States, 219
 Stewardship of wealth, 5
 Service programs, organized, 9
 Successes and failures of juvenile delinquents, 154
 Summer outings, 306
 Supplementary hospital service, 208
 Sutherland, Edwin H., 178, 179, 187, 188
 Sydenstricker, Edgar, 219
 Tanqueray, Ad., 6, 38.
 Teaching of Christ and charity, 300, 301
 Team work, increasing importance of, 374; necessity of, 372
 Technique of social case work, 58
 Thurston, Henry W., 365
 Thwing, Myra, 221
 Toynbee, Arnold, 383
 Training functions of home more important, 30
 Tuberculosis, 200
 Two ways of increasing income, 223
 Types, of children's institutions, 120; of community chests, 378; of neglected children, 90; of state public welfare agencies, 355
 Unemployment, insurance in the United States, 248; statistics, 244
 Unmarried mother, 131
 Use of the confidential exchange, 60
 Venereal diseases, control of, 202
 Vincent de Paul, St., 81, 82
 Visiting teacher movement, 330
 Vital statistics, 196
 Vocational advisement and continuation schools, 323
 Volume of Catholic child-care in the United States, 288
 Volunteer and juvenile court, 149

- Wage-earner, economic disabilities
of, Chs. XI, XII
Wage payments, 268
Wage statistics in the United
States, 219
Wages, what legal regulation of,
has done, 225
Waggaman, Mary T., 228
Washington Council of Social
Agencies, 376
Welfare functions of state, 351
Western Pennsylvania Peniten-
tiary, 184
What legal regulation of wages
has done, 225
White, Alfred F., 337
White House Conference, 95
Winslow, Mary N., 28, 103
Wolman, Leo, 249
Workmen's compensation, legisla-
tion, 233; securing payment,
271

243.415

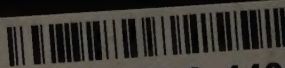
301
O'GA


O'Grady, John

AUTHOR

An introduction to

TITLE



 W7-CXC-448